/411 cont./

291 they alternately turn one side of the body and then the other to the fire, each time pushing their cape in the opposite direction with a slight movement of the hand.

Misdirected sympathy that knows nothing about the advantages of all the resources our natives have for the protection of their bodies pities them unduly and underestimates their wise judgment in the things they have expediently invented and chosen for themselves. As a matter of fact, they avoid much damage to their health because they do not tolerate material that clings to their bodies. Frequent rain and snow, wet air, and the vigorous splashing of waves which constantly wash them promote a healthy skin which is good for the whole organism. The short back-cape with its rough leather side turned toward the skin also acts as a gentle rubbing agent. If all this were omitted with a change in the mode of dress, what equivalent would the Indian have? To begin with, he does not have to be afraid of uneven warmth and of weakening the parts of his body that are covered among other
291 peoples. With their pure sensibilities, and even more, their dis-
177 cerning judgment, these natural people were not unaware of all the harm that followed the later introduction of clothing to which they were not accustomed. Their effort to reject the foreign, unhealthful coercion was instinctive. Nowadays the last survivors are quite frank about their conviction that European clothing, úška, and diet, together with imported diseases and alcoholic beverages, have caused the swift destruction of their people (p. 339 /untranslated/).

●302 The inhabitants of those distant islands need never reckon with extreme cold, although the weather and the air are always damp and cool. If the heat of the fire should be inadequate or if there is a long trek in prospect and it is very cold, they protect themselves by thoroughly rubbing the entire body with a mixture of blubber and red powder from burnt clay. Ordinarily scarcely any dampness clings to the skin of the body which has been amply greased, and sometimes one sees rain or sea water fall off in drops. This layer of thick grease is a protection also in that it retains the person's own body warmth (86). This was also true in the case of the

86. Aspinall:270, mentioning this expedient, wrote: They "have the habit of rubbing their

/411 cont./

302 bodies with an ointment made of blubber and red earth, which probably also affords some protection against the cold." Before that, Snow (b):264 mentioned it: "The only thing they do to keep more warm is to rub themselves over with grease and ochreous earth" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):139 mentioned the same purpose: "Both sexes oil themselves, or rubb /sic/ their bodies with grease" /cited in English/. Spears:53 also mentions this custom and adds: "Had the early explorers imitated instead of despised the Jahgan, they would have had fewer tales of suffering to tell" /cited in English/.

single anointment with blubber of the whale /412/ or sea lion. This made every person glisten with oil from head to foot, which had a most amazing effect on European travelers and missionaries until they became accustomed to the sight. This simple and very effective measure was available to everyone, and they all liked to use it when cold winds blew or when there was heavy rain. Such [177] an anointment with blubber is no longer possible with the European clothing that is customary today. Instead, every article of clothing is full of dirt and grease.

291 In spite of everything, the extremely meager body protection of our Indians proves their great power of resistance against the extreme inclemency of the weather in their homeland and their undemanding contentment. Even though their one article of clothing is serviceable and their open fire an indispensable advantage, there would still be room for a few simple comforts. Compared with the neighboring Selk'nam, our Yamana are obviously in a somewhat less favorable position.

5. Preparation of Furs and Skins

281 Our Indians need the furs and skins of their game animals (87),

87. In some places the Indian has a good selection. Thus Bridges wrote on June 4, 1864, about his visit

515 /418 cont./
824 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), huma, celia, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut, and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this
[854] substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ...they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground,
515 on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping
302 from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and
[147] greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

/419 cont./

147 In this connection we may also mention the fact that these
●302 people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they
515 had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /420/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (95), and

> 95. Spegazzini (a):163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

515 Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness,
136 there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt and crawling with vermin (96). The head louse (Pediculus capitis),

> 96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (a):I, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

warm, thrives through this total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a smaller, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

[Text continues on page 81.—Analyst]

/420 cont./

136 515 Europeans it has been replaced by a larger, gray one. Despite their unmistakably lesser degree of sensitivity, the Indians find this vermin a torture. A mother will sympathetically pick lice from her child, crushing them between her fingernails or teeth (97).

97. Hyades (q):348 briefly mentions "the hunt for parasites (Pediculi capitis) to which they devote themselves in their moments of leisure" /translated from French/.

No one minds having his neighbor restlessly scratch his head. In the long, quiet intervals beside the evening fire in the hut these sounds, produced by first one and then another of those present, are a frequent /421/ interruption. The individual gets no relief, however, in spite of all his scratching, and they hardly ever lose patience throughout this torture.

[177] In the last decades the clothes louse (Pediculus vestimentorum) has also spread throughout the region, introduced by Europeans. The older people do not recall this pest; the general conditions for its development were poor in any case. When a person removes his clothing -- nowadays everyone wears only European clothing -- the well-known traces of lice are revealed all over his body. These people are constantly scratching their bodies. I cannot say whether Pediculus pubis is present, but this species also is probably not entirely absent.

[142] ● 302 The head hair of the Yamana is naturally black, stiff, and thick. Although it is liberally greased with blubber, dirt and lice prevent it from ever being soft and attractively shiny. It grows moderately long, and among women it reaches about to their shoulders, which is why it does not lend itself to a particular type of coiffure. Everyone wears his hair open and loose; it lies on their head in thick strands. Some women cut the hair on their forehead at their eyebrows (98). Occasionally, if a person does

98. Hyades (q):330 speaks of "hair cut in front 'dog fashion' " /translated from French/. Lothrop (b):194 expresses himself in more general terms.

/421 cont./

●302 not want to be bothered with it, he ties a narrow strap, a tendon, or a few stalks of rushes around his head to hold it. A man even uses his sling for this purpose. If women bend their heads, the hair falls forward and covers the whole face, but they never tire of pushing it aside. Bove (e):157 wrote: "Men and women wear very long hair that falls to their shoulders; only a few fasten it with a leather band. Most of them, however, let it grow so wild that both sexes look more like furies than human beings."

The men like to shorten their hair. That is the only difference in the so-called hair style of the two sexes. They use a [42] flat mussel shell, spread a small tuft of hair on it, and draw a sharp-edged shell over it in a sawing motion until the ends fall off. Then they take the next tuft, until they have done the whole head in this fashion. It cannot be helped that the hair-cutter grows tired; the other must endure much plucking and pulling; and the whole job is very irregular.

Modest grooming of the hair is not entirely lacking, however, Despard /422/ learned from an Indian that "only women [42] use oil to make fine hair; then comb very smooth with porpoise jaw" (VP:VI, 55; 1859) /cited in English/. Both sexes alike regard the secondary body hair as ugly and in bad taste. For this reason men pluck their sparse beard hair, and all adults their underarm and pubic hair, with their fingernails or with two shells that fit one on top of the other. Older people become careless [177] about this. In most recent times the men let their beards grow, in order to be like Europeans. Now one can easily see that they 142 do not produce more than isolated hairs on the lip and chin (99).
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99. In this connection Bove (c):126 says that "the men, besides being beardless, habitually pull out the little beard hair that they have, and the two sexes have no hair of any kind on the body" /translated from Spanish/. Lovisato (b):129 agrees. Fitz-Roy (a):175 had mentioned: "Theywwould have a straggling beard, but scrupulously pull out every hair with tweezers made of muscle-shelles" /cited in English/. According to Despard (VP:IV, 185; 1857)

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"they were beardless. One or two of the older men had some hair on their faces, which, while talking, they were continually engaged in twitching out" /cited in English/. And Bove (MM:XVIII, 188; 1884) says: "The men have very little beard, and even that little they are accustomed to tear out or cut off with shells" /cited in English/.

In general, they have only very little and faint hair on their

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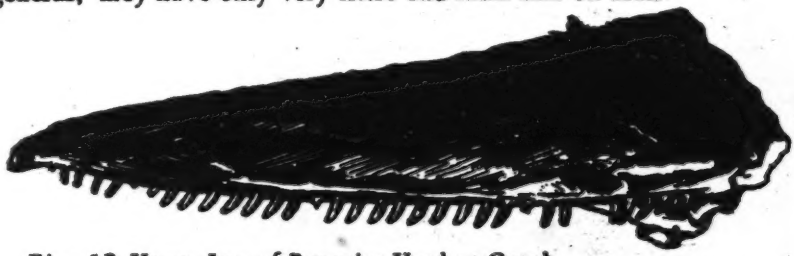

Fig. 18. Upper Jaw of Porpoise Used as Comb. Natural size.

bodies; in this respect they resemble the Selk'nam. /Fig. 18 appears here./

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Under the influence of Whites, younger and middle-aged Yamana have learned not only to dress in modern fashion, but also to wash their faces with soap and to arrange their hair with a comb. Vain chaps shave with imported razors.

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To loosen the hair matted with dirt and lice, not so much because of a desire for cleanliness but because of the discomfort, they use a somewhat coarse comb. It comes in three styles. The most easily obtainable is the upper jaw of the porpoise which is about 12 centimeters long and has two rows of short teeth (Fig. 18). It is occasionally found on the beach where it is so excellently cleaned of all organic matter by wood lice and other lower animals that it can be used without any further preparation. At first this bone is still greasy, which is beneficial for the hair. At any rate it is very easy to use and durable. This comb is called ustánim. Even an otter skull, cleaned of all meat /423/ and without the lower jaw, serves as a comb as long as the few and

/423 cont./

●302 442 very irregular teeth are still firm in the short, narrow upper jaw (100).

100. Hyades (q):303 confirms this very emphatically.

[321] The other comb must be specially made and that is why not everyone has it. It is a flat piece of whale bone, the size

Fig. 19. Comb Made of Whale Bone. Two-thirds natural size.

of a child s hand, into which five to eight teeth are cut. The teeth project across the entire piece, with not very large spaces between them (Fig. 19). This is in contrast to the comb of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 222). In the central Yamana region where porpoises are rarer, this tumakitamasir[101] is generally used (101). [Fig. 19 appears here.]

101. Lothrop (b):131 mentions both types and says: "The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair" /cited in English/. Hyades (q):348 does not mention the last comb we

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/423 cont./

describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237] As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

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102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither platted nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this lítúku ukánim as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

515 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

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515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
514 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (105). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 105. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

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Like their neighbors in the northeast and northwest, the Selk'nam and the Halakwulup, the Yamana use only three pigments for their decorative painting, namely, black, white, and red (106), which they apply as a powder mixed with water or

106. The majority of European visitors noted these three colors and mentioned them. See Fitz-Roy (a):139, Darwin (a) :238, Hyades (q) :349, Weddel:152, and others.

fish oil. They can get black pigment, yapuiake (according to BD:654 also yapuiôx), most easily, which is nothing more than ground charcoal. This dust is usually rubbed dry over the whole body, but for the face it is mixed with fish oil before it is applied. This mixture is also used to draw lines and dashes.

The white pigment, tumarâpu, is chalk. They value chiefly the pure, fine calcareous earth found in Puerto Ribalo and Puerto Eugenia, both in the central part of the north shore of Navarino Island. They take it out, soften it and knead it with water, form it into a lump, and keep it, ready for use, in a pouch made of gut. They obtain smaller amounts for urgent /428/ use by heating a few Mytilus shells in the hut fire and afterwards crushing them to a powder between stones. This chalk powder is never prepared with fish oil or blubber because it would lose its shiny white color. Instead of water they use their own saliva, which makes the mixture more adhesive when dashes or dots are drawn on the face or the body. With the incisors a little powder is scraped off the hard lump and mixed with saliva (107),

107. According to Hyades (q):300, there is even a special verb for this, namely, "Jamba (or Jampa) tournarapou: to chew clay in order to dilute it with saliva" /translated from French/.

obtained by a vigorous chewing motion, to form a thick paste. A finger is then moistened with it in the mouth if one wishes to draw coarse lines. When more delicate drawings are made with a

/428 cont./

●302 386 little stick, the mixture is spit into the left palm and the stick dipped into it. If the whole body is to be painted, the white powder is mixed with a little water, and the thick paste is smeared over the skin with the flat of the hand. After it has dried, of course, this layer of color gradually falls off.

They go to some trouble to obtain the red pigment, known as imi and more often sewna, which is used far more extensively. Their emotional preference for bright scarlet may play a decisive part here. Hyades (p):329 corroborates this (108): "they prefer

> 108. He also says: "Red is the favorite coloring matter of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. From the chemical analysis he gives we see that iron oxide is the chief ingredient of this earth mixture.

vivid colors, especially red" /translated from French/. In several places in the west, more frequently than elsewhere, one [317] comes across thin layers of a yellowish or reddish or rust-colored mineral deposit, which is all the more desirable the less greasy and drier it is. Hyades (q):350 writes that the Indians "collect this ocher from pebbles to which it adheres; it shows that these stones probably were for a time in ferruginous water" /translated from French/. A lump the size of a fist is stirred with fresh water on an outspread rag of leather or a flat stone, kneaded well, and kept damp in the piece of leather until there is a sunny day with no wind. Then the embers of the hut fire are stirred up with some dry, sound wood. They wait until the smoke has disappeared and no breeze blows up the ashes, whereupon the still damp lump of clay is carefully placed in the fire so that it is thoroughly heated. It is vermilion when it is taken out with a stick. Ashes and embers are scraped off the surface, and it is pounded to a fine powder between stones. This powder is col- [415] lected in a piece of sea lion gut. The Indians are almost superstitiously exact in the preparation of this red pigment, for they are extraordinarily appreciative of its glowing brightness which neither dirt nor ashes impairs. It is used often and in various ways, but they like it best for facial painting, and then almost always

/428 cont./

302 386 in the form of a thick paste mixed with seal oil. It is prepared less often in the palm of the left hand, more frequently in a medium-sized Mytilus /429/ shell so that the mixture can be well stirred and evenly applied. The red coloring must be uniform.

302 413 As has already been mentioned, in using all three colors they sometimes prefer to mix the powder with oil or blubber instead of using it dry. If they want to make even strokes and precise dots, they cut a suitable painting stick, known as talaxikamána in the dialect of the west, pucitikutaléna in the central dialect, derived from ikamána, "to paint," "to draw." The little stick is about ten centimeters long, sharp at one end and smoothly cut off and flattened like a spatula at the other end. It is used to draw lines. If they want to draw dots, they dip the other end into the color and place it on the skin like a stamp. Almost every woman carries this little stick around with her everywhere. The sponsor uses it daily to paint her candidate during the protracted initiation ceremonies, cíkesa. A person who is without one easily and quickly makes himself another (109).

109. Hyades (q):300 speaks of an "awl or spatula of wood" /translated from French/. Moreover, he gives linguistic expressions for the many patterns of drawing and painting, which are given in greater detail and probably complete in BD.

415 237 Since the white and, even more, the red pigments are valued, they are carefully kept in a kind of color pouch, known as yáli or yáiyi. For this purpose they like to use the esophagus of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus), known as álaimi yáiyi, or the small intestine of seals (110). A piece 25 to 45

110. Hyades (q):350 mentions them as "bags made from the windpipes of seals or porpoises /translated from French/, and Lothrop (b):133, as "small sacks made from the throats of seal" /cited in English/.

/429 cont./

45 centimeters long is cut out, sewed up at one end with a straight
257 edge, blown up taut, and immediately tied with tendon fibers at the other end. Sometimes they leave the circular cardiac muscles at the opening of the stomach attached to the lower part. These close automatically, which simplifies the work. This air bubble dries quickly, and the upper part of it is cut off straight. The elongated pouch is filled with pigment only to the middle. The free upper half is pressed flat and rolled down from the upper edge (Fig. 28). This not only makes a safe and convenient closing, but protects the contents against dampness and spilling. Sometimes they also tie a few tendon fibers lengthwise around the rolled packet to keep it closed. The white pigment, tunupipu, nevertheless hardens into a firm lump after a time, but this does not affect its use. Compared with this, the black pigment, yapuliko, namely, pounded charcoal, is used far less. It does not pay to take special pains to keep it because it is available everywhere.

382 / Much later we shall discuss the significance of the individ-
522 ual colors within the manifold patterns, but here we should like to correct the inaccurate opinion of certain observers who attribute to each color as /all/ such a definite meaning or a single and exclusive significance. Without qualification Dobbeene (x):38 maintains that "the three colors, white, black, and red, which are used for painting, have their signification, since they are used respectively, as signs of war, mourning, or joy" /translated from Spanish/. Bridges (x):321 is much closer to the truth. He writes: "The external sign of mourning was the face blackened with charcoal. White applied in dots and stripes was the color of revenge for murder, and red was the emblem of friendship and joy." /Fig. 28 appears here./ None of the three colors (111)

111. I herewith reject the inaccurate statements of Fitz-Roy (x):177, Dobbeene (x):38 and (b):178, Lothrop (b):136, Spegazzini (x):178, and others. Wyndow (x):349 repeats in detail the opinion of Bridges, upon whom Krickeberg: 332 also relies.

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has a single and exclusively unique meaning, but their significance is rather in how they are used together or singly for certain types of painting and patterns according to consistent habit and conscious intent. The fact that various things are painted for no purpose but to beautify the object remains to be discussed, as does the particular form of body painting for certain occasions, such as a wedding or mourning, initiation ceremonies and ceremonies of men, important battles, and the rituals of medicine men. The everyday motives and general intentions will be mentioned here; the special occasions we refer to will be discussed at the proper place.

Fig. 28. Pouch for Pigments. Natural size.

Without doubt Aspinall 278 is right when he emphasizes: "All painting among these Indians has a special significance." The everyday painting is only for decoration, in accordance with the requirements for beauty and the demands of courtesy. According to Hyades (p. 33), women and girls are "by no means indifferent with regard to their appearance, and try to beautify their faces as much as possible with horizontal lines and dots of white clay." /438/ Both Bridges and Hyades (p. 369 are inaccurate, however, when it is asserted "this painting is regarded as a parure" /translated from French/.

Every native wants to be more beautiful and adorn himself by arranging different colors in the form of lines and dots, cross-hatching, and circles, according to his own choice (312). He

115. With little accuracy Seve (p. 137 wrote: "They paint themselves in all kind of ways.

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usually they draw parallel lines of different colors across the face, crooked lines on the cheeks and nose, the most peculiar drawings on chest and arms. But most of them are satisfied with very thick applications of several colors on hair, face, and body." Like Rowe, travelers of earlier times did not recognize the meaning and significance of the body painting of our Taitians.

feels impelled to do this whenever many people are assembled, brought to the same place by chance. Every person, no matter what sex or age, paints at least his face and is careful to give his drawing a symmetrical arrangement. The arrangement and choice of symbols is completely arbitrary; the same person will change the pattern from one day to another. Some take more pain than others, depending on their disposition. Some are good at putting together all three colors; most of them are partial to white. Younger people use the little painting stick with scrupulous care, whereas older people handle it very carelessly. The torso and arms are decorated with perpendicular and horizontal lines and rows of dots; the legs are more rarely decorated. In general, however, less attention is given to the painting of the body than to facial painting.

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Since everyone has absolute freedom in this ornamentation, it would be useless to try to discover a certain system or a basic meaning. Even the same person likes to see himself in one pattern today, another tomorrow. No actual contest develops between persons, although petty jealousies and envy because of physical advantages are never lacking.

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Visitors are obliged to adhere to a certain ornamentation, and this is a matter of good breeding. In this case it is true that one can recognize meaning and purpose in the drawing itself. Any color pattern on the face, no matter how simple, suffices; it is almost always white. A person decorates himself with it, as time and fancy dictate, and goes to the neighboring hut. The visitor honors the hut owner with his facial painting, and the host is appreciative of what the visitor has consciously striven to attain.

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302 674 If someone expects a visitor, he also decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor comes unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit in the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor previously bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the cordial understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for Čiexaus candidates to visit their sponsors in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any pattern of colors on the face is permissible and suffices, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

302 574 881 Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, Čiexaus candidates who visit their sponsors, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, Čiexaus candidates regularly appear in

/432 cont./

302 574 881 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are especially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the Cicras. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

302 574 609 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

302 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/433 cont./

302 must be discussed below. We need only add that many individuals decorate themselves with facial paintings, if they feel like it, simply because they enjoy decking themselves out. Many mothers also do this to their small children. No one regards this reproachfully as vanity, much less accuse them of it. Everyone is given complete freedom to do what prevailing custom approves. A European who is ignorant of this critically shakes his head when he unexpectedly meets an Indian decorated with facial painting whose neighbors are not thus adorned but accept it as a matter of course.

4. Ornaments

301 The body covering of these Indians is meager, but in contrast, their ornaments and jewelry, undifferentiated between the sexes, are more abundant. The raw materials used for these ornaments are furnished by the animal kingdom. They do not give any importance to mineral treasures, not even to the gold found in that region. These few objects serve their desire to decorate themselves and to enhance their physical charms (114).

> 114. Here are a few testimonies. "Among the Fuegians, the desire for ornaments is perhaps stronger in the man than in the woman" Bove (d):290 says /translated from Italian/. Lovisato (b):139 emphasizes: "The passion for ornaments is predominant in the Fuegians, not only in the women, but also in the men" /translated from Italian/. Finally, Hyades (c):142 adds: "The women, coquettes like all women, wear many more ornaments than the men do" /translated from French/.

The women and girls have bands that are almost always worn around the ankle and frequently around the wrist as well (Fig. 21). A male person almost never wears such a piece, hence it may be regarded as the exclusive property of the female

/484 cont./
411 around some part of their body to have it quickly accessible at
482 any time, but it is not regarded as an ornament (195). The

195. Hyades (h):33 expressed the surprising view: "We must therefore admit that the sling of the Yahgan is as much an ornamental object for men as it is a weapon for hunting or war" /translated from French/.

[142 302]

Fig. 41. Man with a Sling.

Yamana use it not only to stun birds, but also in fighting against their own people.

411 /485/ All indications point to the fact that the sling was used in all parts of the Cape Horn Archipelago./Fig. 41 appears here./ Every man and boy owned and owns one. When the Mission Scientifique arrived in Orange Bay, according to Hyades (q):357, every man carried his sling. This was customary throughout the entire area occupied by this tribe. Lothrop (b):157 indulges in vain speculation about the [177] origin of the sling and says "that the Ona had acquired knowledge of this weapon from the Yaghan" /cited in English/. I cannot agree with this view; I shall not go into his evidence and mine at this point. Instead, I take the view of Snow (b):264 that the Yamana "are remarkably expert with their slings" /cited in English/. Obviously, the fact that they own and use the sling also proves "their ingenuity" /cited in English/.

8. Snares and Fishing Implements

223 Our Yamana are fortunate in having a wide selection
226 among the animals of their homeland to meet their food needs. They approach each species in a special way in order to catch them as easily and surely as possible. Besides the weapons mentioned

/527 cont./

223 soon die because of the abundant guano deposits. When in a short time they are bare of leaves, the cormorants like them even better and roost on their branches in large numbers. The Indian stealthily approaches these, too, cautiously climbs up one of these trees, and kills one sleeping animal after another by biting through its neck and dropping it to the ground. In order to be well covered, he [302] paints his body completely black. This undertaking also demands a masterful dexterity on the part of the hunter. Bridges (MM:XIII, 158; 1879) confirms this: "All are not able to signalize themselves [555] in the difficult art of shag catching, but such as do become valued members of society" /cited in English/, and the rest of the men trust in their leadership.

Finally, cormorants are caught in another, but simple /528/ and not dangerous manner, namely, with bait in a sort of trap known as čewur[251]. This procedure is recommended for level ground and for places that do not have high rocks with breeding holes. The Indians ram a sturdy post into the ground and on it fasten several long, thin sinews, each of which ends in a short, small bone pointed at both ends and with a dead fish drawn over it. The bait is partially covered with a very loose, thin layer of dried algae, and a few pieces of fat are placed on top, which are, first of all, supposed to attract gulls. Along with them cormorants will also gather around this bait and will swallow the anchored dead fish mentioned above. The small pointed bone concealed in the bait settles obliquely in the stomach, and they try to get rid of the discomfort, but the longer they tug and choke, the more surely will they bleed to death (251). The trapper can

> 251. Bridges (h):210 is referring to this bait when he writes: "Or else, for the cormorants, they avail themselves of wooden lures" /translated from Spanish/.

easily get at them.

Hyades (q):359, relying on Bridges, describes a similar bait arrangement: This "consists of three slivers of hard wood, well sharpened, fastened together at the bottom of a curved stick. Their points, facing in opposite directions, are stuck into and

/617 cont./

481

enough, women can swim, but not men. The women usually swim very well, but go into the water only when they have to. Only rarely, when it was relatively warm, did the Frenchmen have an opportunity to observe that the Fuegian women also jumped into the water for pleasure, and played about happily in it without any particular purpose."

A person who comes out of the water immediately hastens to the hut fire in order to warm himself thoroughly. In winter they also, as Fitz-Roy (a):186 observed, "rub their bodies all over with oil or grease and ochreous earth, to keep out the cold" /cited in English/ (427). Aspinall:270, however, is right when he says that

[302]

427. Hyades (q):214 supplements this by saying: "We saw young women swimming, one of whom was five-months pregnant, another nursing, on a May day when the temperature of the water was not above six degrees" /translated from French/.

"men can seldom swim, women always" (428). When I asked

428. Hence Fitz-Roy (a):186 exaggerates with his assertion: "Men, women, and children are excellent swimmers" /cited in English/, because it is too general.

about this from one of the many who could not swim, I received the reply: "We don't have to learn it, for the woman takes us in the canoe to the beach and fetches us again from there (429)!"

429. To the same question Hyades (q):214 received the answer "given mockingly by a Fuegian: only the women can swim because their breasts keep them on top of the water" /translated from French/. Compare also

/654 cont./

585 about an actual marriage proposal following definite formalities, such as are /655/ practiced by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 326). They do, however, have an actual marriage celebration with certain conspicuous accompaniments, which they regard as legalizing the conclusion of a marriage.

It is easy to explain why earlier travelers did not understand this custom in its deeper significance, if, indeed, they had a chance to observe it, and that they saw in it only one of the universally common facial decorations. They should at least have avoided an abrupt denial of any kind of marriage ceremony, such as Bove (e):158, for example, did when he definitely maintained: "No festivity, no ceremony accompanies the wedding, which simply consists of the bride's going to the hut of the bridegroom or of the latter's settling down with his father-in-law" (35).

35. Hyades (b):1346 and (p):334 is as inaccurate as he is insistent when he tries to make out that "the marriage is accomplished without any ceremony" /translated from French/. According to Spegazzini (a):164 the marriage is concluded "very simply among them" /translated from Spanish/.

Bridges (e):333 made a slight concession, without grasping its real meaning: "The marriage ceremony was quite unimportant; there was no contract, no gathering of friends, no festivity, but they simply painted the face of the bride and sent her to her future husband in the best attire that they were able to afford." In contrast to this, we must emphasize that our informants positively established the socially valid significance of their ceremonies for the first marriage of a couple. These ceremonies were also regularly conducted, for without this public announcement the union of the two young people would not have been recognized as a valid marriage, but would have been regarded as a free, impermissible love affair.

585 Among all the things that surround and accompany a wedding
● 302 of those who are united for the first time, the facial painting of the bride and groom is the most significant feature. Like a public

/655 cont./
585 declaration, it announces to the neighborhood and therewith to
302 the entire tribe the free decision of both parties. It is this visible sign that proclaims the marriage as legally concluded (36). It

36. Since Hyades (q):378 did not understand the significance of this facial painting, he contradicts himself in the following assertion: "The marriage does not give rise to any special ceremony; the young girl adorns herself more on this day, at least with facial paintings and with necklaces which she receives as gifts, and the hair on her forehead is cut" /translated from French/. In view of the little sense of form that our Yamana have developed, all these details certainly mean display enough!

binds the bridegroom as well as the bride, and the painting in this special form is used exclusively for the wedding. It consists of three parallel, horizontal red stripes of medium width which begin at the edge of the nostril and are drawn across the cheeks almost up to the ear lobes (Fig. 77). For about a week the newlyweds appear with this painting, which is carefully renewed every day. The Imi is mixed with seal blubber and applied with a little stick to achieve even, fine lines, a neat application being particularly prized (37).

37. Spears: 69 was the only one who learned of this custom: "The marriage ceremony consisted in painting the girl in a certain fashion for several days before she was delivered to her husband" /cited in English/. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 331) a "wedding decoration" is prescribed, which in style corresponds exactly with that of the Yamana.

/656/ The young people whose parents have cleared the way for their marriage begin this facial painting as soon as one of their

/656 cont./

585 relatives, usually the indáruwa, notifies them that the big feast
302 is soon to take place. A few related families are informed or specially fetched, and the men go hunting to collect a great deal of meat which the women prepare for roasting. Although no particular day is set, the general mood or the momentary decision of the relatives, or even the unpredictable weather, brings about the ceremonious delivery of the bride or the bridegroom to the hut occupied by the other party. /Fig. 77 appears here./ In this matter they are influenced by given circumstances; usually the bride moved into the hut of her new parents-in-law. A few hours earlier the news spontaneously spreads that this formality is about to take place, and everyone present prepares for it in happy excitement. The bride and bridegroom are once more carefully painted and somewhat dressed up with a new fur cloak. The other people also paint their faces, usually with the fine vertical red lines from below the eyelid, over the cheeks, to the level of the corner of the mouth. Finally, at a large fire outside the dwelling where the bridal couple is to meet, a few women roast the large amounts of meat. Messengers go from one hut to another to see how the preparations are progressing. At the appropriate moment a few women, followed by children and neighbors, accompany the bride to the hut occupied by the bridegroom. This procession is regarded as the core of the ceremony. Sometimes there is more formality, for example, when the bridegroom himself, surrounded by a few relatives, approaches the hut of his bride and invites her to follow him to the hut of his father. She joins him in the procession. There the happy celebration begins.

Fig. 77. Facial Painting of the Bride.

585 Young and old enjoy themselves at the abundant meal; there is lively conversation, and finally the wedding guests give eloquent expression to their joy in dance and play. They remain together many hours, and it is only general fatigue that puts an end to the celebration. The bridal couple do not yet have a hut of their own

/656 cont./

585 and spend the night at the place where the celebration /657/ took place (38). Here the people of the neighborhood again assemble

[783] 38. Bove (e):158, and Wieghardt:41 as well, maintain: "If the bridegroom does not wish to forgo forever the enjoyment of eating guanaco and seal meat, he must cleanse himself on the morning after the wedding by bathing in the water of the sea... These baths are without doubt the cause of many sicknesses to which the young people of Tierra del Fuego are subjected, but they are regarded as necessary to replace the lost strength." When I asked my informants whether a bridegroom was obliged to take a bath, they could not keep from laughing, they found it so preposterous. It is almost childish to attribute "many sicknesses" to this alleged custom. Whenever someone has washed himself in the sea, he immediately hastens to the fire.

in the days that follow, until the supply of meat is gone, the joyful mood has abated, and the long sojourn at the same place becomes boring. Meanwhile the bride often hastens to the hut of her mother where the two outdo each other in expressions of mutual affection, for soon the hour of parting will come. Each time
•[702] the mother carefully paints her daughter with the three horizontal lines, in order that she will be pleasing to her young husband and he will learn to love her. Many of the male guests give the bridegroom their good wishes and occasionally drop a warning word. The principals themselves are silent and are quite content in their own happiness. When all the wedding guests have dispersed and gone their separate ways, the newlyweds, who have meanwhile acquired their own canoe, also leave the place. They begin their independent life, free of their parents, and this is encouraged by very special rules applicable to parents-in-law and children-in-law.

585 177 A new family has now been established. The public regards this event as so significant that they feel the necessity of surrounding it with legal formality (39). The modern confusion brought

39. Once Bridges (e):332, too, apparently lets his understanding of this come through:

/756 cont./

881 867 "Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot in the huts create /757/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wélix [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were tū'ikipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of čílĕr /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

881 302 During these days the tū'ikipa is also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ímí /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

881 514 The conclusion of all the observances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called tū'ikipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD:423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /cited in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the tū'ikipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/838 cont./
activities among suitable women, he also chooses a reliable man to serve as guard, called winefkẽ·a. This is the name for Leucophaeus scoresbii, a feared predatory bird of the high seas, who pounces with bloodthirsty rage on other birds and fastens on to them. As a result its whole beak is often covered with blood (Fig. 82).

In imitation of the bird, the guard paints a wide red stripe over the entire lower half of his nose, continuing it two fingers in width on either side down to the edge of the chin. This decoration, which is sometimes also applied in white

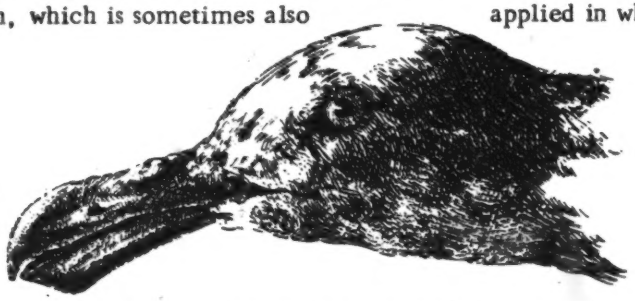

Fig. 82. Leucophaeus scoresbii. Natural size.

to make it visible in the dark, is meant to show how seriously and strictly he performs his office and how threateningly he pursues everyone who disturbs the peace /839/ or is guilty of an offense. As a headdress the winefkẽ·a properly wears the plaited wreath of white albatross feathers, just as the yẽkamuš /medicine men/ do. Sometimes he changes to the hapaxẽl /headband/. Formerly when the Yamana did not have European clothing, the guard painted his entire body white with horizontal red stripes two fingers wide and a hand's breadth apart all around it. The Indians have retained a small remnant of this to this day, for the actual guard and his helpers paint /Fig. 82 appears here/ at least the lower part of the leg and the forearm in this fashion. They no longer paint the other parts of the body, which are covered with European clothing.

The particular duty of the winefkẽ·a is quite obvious. He must guard the hut so that no unbidden person, especially no child, creeps up too close and sees what is going on. The camp with the dwellings is, of course, not far from the Great Hut, and in their play the children are careless enough to come too close to

/839 cont./
X881 625 the Great Hut unwittingly. They probably have no conscious purpose in doing so, but the adults wish to protect themselves against all eventualities. In order to intimidate the unbidden and to keep them within bounds, the guard sometimes climbs up the framework to the uppermost part of the Great Hut. From this vantage point he sends forth his customary call in a loud voice. Its effect is not lost, for with lightning speed the startled children creep into the nearest dwelling and do not appear again for a long time. During my first initiation the guard was obliged to resort to this practice repeatedly, for at that time the dwellings were dangerously near the čiéxaus hut. Moreover, the winefkē·a has to keep a special eye on the candidates as long as they are outside the Great Hut and within his field or vision. He emphatically inculcates on each of them the habit of giving an audible call at brief intervals so he can /840/ locate any one of them in a moment. Unseemly conduct on the part of the candidates is hardly to be feared, however. Finally, in former times he had to watch for the approach [721] of enemies who could have taken advantage of the opportunity to rob and set fire to the deserted dwellings while the owners were in the čiéxaus hut. In recent times this precaution is unnecessary.

In former times an energetic, lively, and prudent younger man was always chosen to the office of winefkē·a. Nowadays he need not take his task too seriously. What, for example, could have been accomplished by old Tomas who offered his services for the post at the initiation in March, 1922? On the first evening he was not even present in the Great Hut. He would not have had anything to do anyway, for there was no disturbance outside.

X881 625 302 When several uswaala are sitting in the čiéxaus, the professional duty of the guard is increased. In order to relieve him, the leader, after a discussion with him, chooses a few younger men as his assistants. In March, 1922, none were selected because they were not needed; at my first initiation, however, they had enough to do. They do not occupy a particular place in the Great Hut, any more than does the winefkē·a. Formerly they were painted just as he was, whereas today the body painting is limited to the forearm, lower leg, and face. On these parts of the body they too, put a white background upon which they draw

/840 cont./

X881 625 302 a red stripe the width of a finger from each nostril to the opening of the ear. They are never without the proper hapaxél, but they are not entitled to the headdress of white feathers which distinguishes the winefkéxwa. Neither he nor his assistants are constantly painted this way, but they renew the painting frequently.

X881 625 These assistants do not have a special name. Their activity depends entirely on the guard, and they take their instructions from him. This describes their service. Above all they help to capture the candidates at the beginning of the ceremony, and they also assist if an outsider has caused a disturbance or has come up too close and must be apprehended. One or another of these assistants accompanies the uswáala to work outside the Great Hut because the winefkéxwa himself should never be too far away from it.

X881 625 283 When the guard and his assistants fetch one candidate after the other to the Great Hut, as we have just indicated, they use a long strip of leather which is about three centimeters wide and 12 to 15 meters long. This úkeša is painted white and has red horizontal strips 20 to 30 centimeters apart. It is knotted at the end and made into a noose. This leather strap is fastened loosely lengthwise, not rolled up, to the framework inside the Great Hut so that it can be taken down ready for use at any moment. It is always in the same place; hence it is convenient and /841/ certain to be at hand for the men, who can instantly form up in such a way that the first in the row, noose in hand, can run out of the Great Hut first and strike out in the direction agreed upon. Extreme haste is sometimes necessary, certainly always when someone disturbing the peace is to be caught.

X881 625 They run one behind the other about two to three meters apart in a row and grasp the long strap with the right hand while they carry the dancing sticks in the left hand. As soon as they are close enough to the candidate or the mischief-maker, the first in the row throws the noose over his head while the other helpers surround him until he is bound. Now they drag him to the Great Hut, whether or not he is willing. They also use this úkeša to implant some wholesome fear in a stubborn, disobedient uswáala. If the first and second warnings do not suffice and even a threat has no effect, the guard's assistants grab the rebel, wrap the

/849 cont./

X881 are children. The adults intend this to be the case, whether the children are about to be fetched or are still too young. All the children now know that these men have been appointed as guards who do not understand fun and will tolerate no disturbance. As a result, the small children stay away from the čiéxaus hut because they are afraid (268).

> 268. The older women who remain in the camp to take care of the small children expressly tell them about the arrival of the guards and their dragging away the candidates. They also tell them about "Yetaita" /a spirit/ so that fear and terror will have a prolonged effect.

/850/ When the frightened candidate has been brought to the main entrance, his bonds are loosed. He must squat down on all fours. The moment a man slightly raises the entrance covering outside, another pushes the chap from behind through the entrance and into the Great Hut. Inside he is received by another man who immediately throws a large piece of leather over his head, so that he cannot see what is going on. Thus covered and crawling on hands and feet, he is pushed forward until he reaches the place beside the sponsor selected for him. Here he may straighten up and, with his legs crossed under him, squats in expectation of what soon follows.

β. Reception in the Great Hut

The candidate is still unable to see anything because his face remains covered. From the moment he is pushed in, all the occupants start an indescribable yelling and howling; they drum on the smooth ground with their fists and violently shake the entire framework. The helpless chap is in an awful state, for he has a foreboding of dreadful things and knows that he is completely defenseless.

X881 Long before, at the direction of the leader, several of the men very stealthily prepared for the appearance of Yetāita. In

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X 881 302 the underbrush near the Great Hut a younger man has taken off his clothing and smeared his whole body with white paint on which he then evenly arranges short vertical lines five centimeters long and as wide as a finger. His face is covered with thick red paint, and many delicate white lines, like rays, extend in all directions from both corners of his mouth. From one shoulder to the other, forming an arc across his chest, hangs a feather ornament made exactly like the forehead decoration of a yékamuš. This man does not wear an ornament on his head; instead, he ruffles up his hair and rubs čmi powder into it. Two other men usually help him make up.

The man who plays the part of Yetášta usually appears with a companion. The latter wears a headband of leafless twigs. The lower part of his face up to the nostrils is painted white, the upper part black; isolated parts of his body are rubbed with fine powdered charcoal (269).

269. This figure resembles the so-called "Hase" in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 925).

X 881 When the candidate who has just been introduced has been shoved into his place, they motion to the man who represents the "evil spirit." Sometimes he has been kept hidden behind a curtain near the secondary entrance. Imperceptibly he moves toward the uǐwášala. At the moment /851/ the scrap of leather is removed from the face of the uǐwášala, Yetášta leaps in front of him. Two other men have stirred up the embers in such a way that it looks as though the "evil spirit" had risen up out of the flames. Immediately the struggle begins. Yetášta very energetically puts his arms around the frightened chap, shakes him vigorously, bends him angrily from side to side, presses him against the ground, and tortures him until beads of cold sweat appear on the boy's body. Yetášta does not say a word; he is careful to turn his head so that it is impossible for the boy to recognize his face. Meanwhile the yelling and howling of the inmates has increased, as well as their drumming and stamping upon the ground. The struggle with the "evil spirit" lasts about ten minutes. In desperate helplessness and

/860 cont./

X881 966 morning when old Alfredo noticed my troubled state, he merely said indifferently but decisively: "One must have learned to get along with little room even for sleeping at night!" Later I again heard this explanation: "Sometimes bad weather overtakes several families, all of whom must find room in a single small hut. In the canoe, also, in dangerous seas, all the occupants must squat motionlessly crowded together for a long period. Our young people learn such [skills] here in the X[illegible]exaust!" If one of them should fall asleep from fatigue during the day, he is immediately shaken so hard that he soon gets over his sleepiness. With regard to these restrictions imposed on his protégé every sponsor is almost unfeeling.

[533] The uninterrupted singing throughout the whole night is intended not only to ward off evil spirits, but is also supposed to make the people in the dwellings believe that no one in the Great Hut is sleeping and that all of them are always awake.

X881 302 4. Body Decoration. The Yamana quite generally like to decorate their bodies on certain occasions. Chief among these decorations is body painting, which is quickly and easily done. The uswáala constantly wear certain facial designs which make them recognizable as such. At least twice a day these are touched up for them, because they unavoidably become blurred. The sponsor himself regularly paints these designs on his protégé. As is customary generally, he mixes the red or black powdered pigment with blubber, water, or saliva in a mussel shell or in the palm of his left hand and applies the mixture in lines or dots on the face with a short little painting stick. Often he first smears the entire face with white paint, since on this background the drawings stand out better.

It is not customary to paint the candidate's entire body. He is characterized by one, two, or three thin lines extending from the nostrils or corners of the mouth to the ear lobes on either side. These are red and only very exceptionally black. Furthermore, a favored design for the uswáala consists of fine red lines extending from the lower eyelid over the cheek, perhaps three in number or even up to 15.

These two basic patterns are the ones most often used for the candidates, but there is nothing to stop the adults from copying

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X881 302 /860 cont./ the same drawings for themselves (Fig. 84). To this extent, they are not exclusively reserved for the ulwála. Sometimes, especially for the nightly dances and if visits are expected, other patterns are also painted on the candidates' faces.

X881 292 The adult participants really should always wear their hapaxél, the narrow headband (p. 693); the sponsor attends to this duty for the candidate. He himself makes the hapaxél for his protégé, removes it from his head just before he goes to sleep at night, puts it on him again in the morning, and adjusts it for him /861/ several times during the day. It is carefully guarded; under no circumstances may it be left lying on the ground. Everyone hangs it up behind him on the /Fig. 84 appears here/ lattice work of the hut framework (280) when he removes it from his head.

280. This solicitude reminds one of the anxious attention that all the Selk'nam give to their own masks in the Great Hut of the men (Vol. I, 917).

X881 293 Besides the hapaxél, the sponsor at the very beginning hands his protégé the customary dance staff. During the evening games it is held in the hand, otherwise it stands upright and firm in the ground (p. 694).

X881 292 293 /862/ There is a lovely symbolic meaning connected with these two objects. We have already briefly mentioned (p. 681) that the čiéxaus hut, according to the original Yamana conception, actually represents an alčin, a rock cave on the shore into which dashes the water of the sea. The dancing waves are crested with foam. The delicate white fluff on the hapaxél symbolizes the evanescent foam on the crest of the waves; the rolling motions to and fro with the dance staff held crosswise are meant to indicate the undulating play of the waves which restlessly rise and fall. Because the waves in an alčin ceaselessly ebb and flow, the occupants of the čiéxaus constantly wear the hapaxél and several times a day lightly swing their dance staffs as they make a few dance motions.

[Text continues on page 715.--Analyst]

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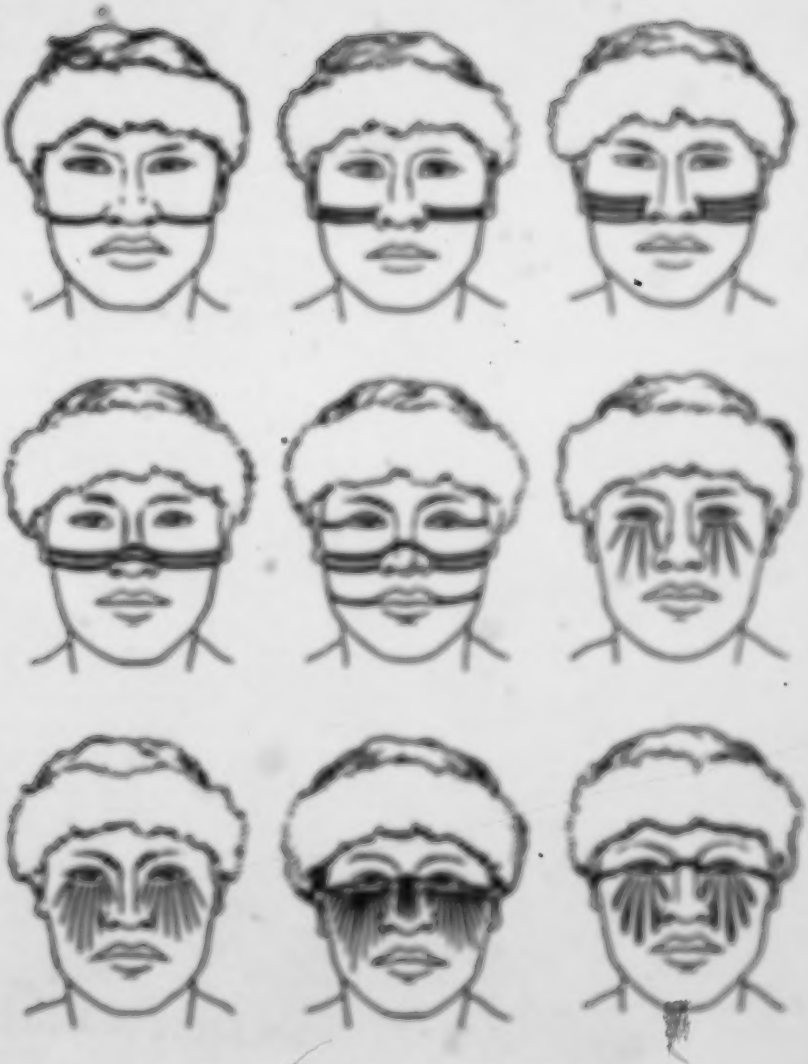

Fig. 94. Facial Painting of the Candidates.

/963 cont./

them that a person has dutifully sat through his term as ohwista in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely amazed that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The ceremonial measures to which each candidate of the Tahgan has to submit are really designed to harden his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each ohwista muscular and to prepare him for the further aims of the Tahgan.

/964/ β. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Tahgan is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaita had all the ohwista sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Tutsano regret this decline even deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/5314 cont./

participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /5315/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the [illegible] hut wore the feather crown, kapaeh, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the [illegible]. The latter wear a kapaeh of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

X881
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/915 cont./
himself somewhat better during the day; at least he does so in the late afternoon before the group dances begin.

Choosing one's ornamentation is a matter of personal taste and sense of beauty; the inspiration of the moment leads to one choice today and another tomorrow. A few basic patterns are expanded and varied in one way or another. Figure 85 shows the facial painting of women in the three upper heads and that of men in the three lower ones. We present only these few examples. In Drawing a, note a broken red line at the level of the eyes, ten fine red lines under each eye, and five on the nose. This is very much like Drawing b, where seven thin red lines are drawn under each eye and three on the nose. Drawing c is another variation; the whole face is painted red, and the white lines are then applied on this background. The latter ornamentation is generally used by the inmates of the čiéxaus hut when they expect outside visitors. In the next three examples of ornamentation a white background is first applied, upon which red lines are drawn according to the patterns reproduced in Figure 85. /916/ Sometimes the candidates are also decorated in this way. Now and then, in a fit of enthusiasm, someone will crush a little piece of charcoal and rub the fine powder all over his face and over his simple line paintings. Another person may do the same with white chalk powder.

In former times people were not satisfied with this ornamentation, but extended it to body painting for the nightly dances. /Fig. 85 appears here./ It was easily accomplished in these days because the body covering was very scant. Reminiscent of this is the men's present custom of rolling up their sleeves above their elbows and their pants above the knees in order to paint the exposed parts of these limbs. For their part, older women lay bare the entire upper body, including the arms, rub it with white color, and draw thick red lines and red dots in various arrangements upon it. Formerly this decoration was continued on the lower part of the body.

Since the painting must be renewed daily, considerable amounts of red and white pigment, namely, ímí and tumarápu, are used during the long period of the initiation. Everyone provides himself with sufficient amounts ahead of time. A person

/916 cont./

who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr, a small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

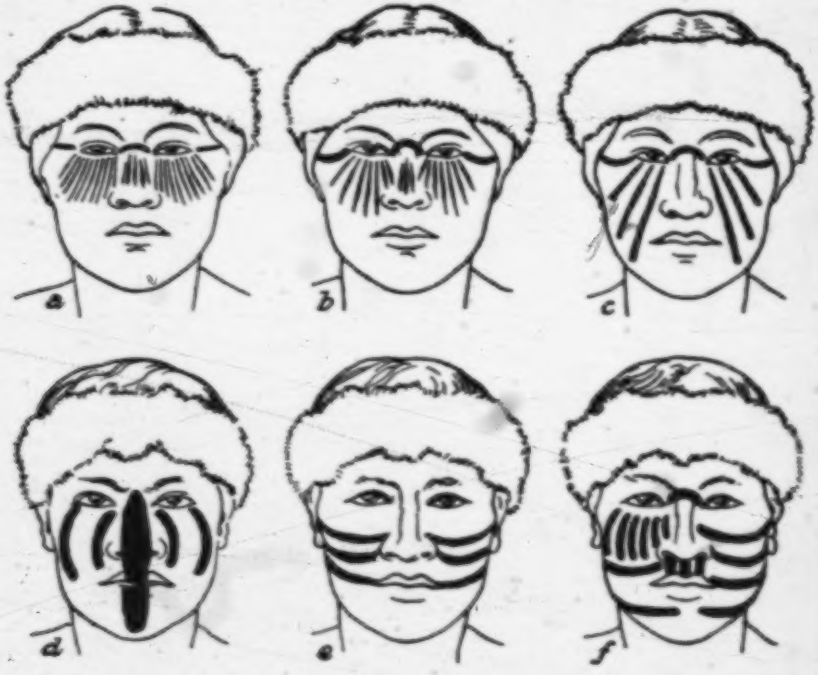

Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiéxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

X881 302 /917 cont./ floor in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

γ. Song and Dance

X881 533 535 A person who enters the čiẽxaus hut wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tone is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the čiẽxaus hut they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

X881 533 1. The Constant Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetáita, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each uwáala.

/922 cont./

X 881 533 781 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiéxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiéxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the táxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various késpiš assembled in the čiéxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X 881 533 535 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the ušwíala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxél on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X 881 312 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 789). The facial painting of the ušwíala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

/923 cont./

X 881 ●302 769 152 Since every adult in the Cjexaus hut thoroughly reviews in his mind the events and experiences of recent years, the memory of his dead relatives is very vivid. He gives repeated and open expression to it, first of all by means of a painting executed in such a way that everyone immediately interprets it as a sign of mourning. Occasionally a person will, in his grief, very excitedly pick up a small piece of charcoal, crush it with furious haste between the palms of his hands, and in a frenzy rub the powder all over his face. This is a sign of deepest mourning over

Fig. 86. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

the recent loss of a very close relative. In memory of loved ones who /924/ have been dead for some time, the face is covered with symbolic patterns inspired by an unpredictable fancy of the moment.

X 881 302 769 Figure 86 shows a few of these patterns. In a, a single black line is drawn straight across each cheek. Noticeably in contrast to this, the whole face in b is rubbed with imi powder, on top of which two medium-thick black lines are drawn. In c the unusual outlining of the eyes in black pigment and the short line below the under lip is likewise applied on a red background. /Fig. 86 appears here./ In d again the whole face is first painted red and afterward a complicated pattern is applied with black pigment. Still other

X 881 /924 cont./
drawings and patterns are carried out, depending on the artistic
302 fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears
769 the hapaxél and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the de-
X 881 ceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding
535 through the entire room. As is the case with these dance move-
769 ments in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are
bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind
the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters
forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both
hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and
lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body.
Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and down-
ward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is
even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held
horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In
this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area
of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to
him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in
opposite directions from one exit to the other.

X 881 Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a
535 few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long
769 sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly
152 cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my
parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in
the čiexaus hut, a great many people were gathered together. All
of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we
are but a very /925/ few. We hardly know how to perform the
čiexaus beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next even-
ing I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how
poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still
living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see
the many who were with me in the čiexaus for the first time; to-
day I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately
joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother
gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were
still many people living and we were a large family. But today I
am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers
and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/944 cont./

X 881 524 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observations with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X 881 574 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the čiéxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the čiéxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the čiéxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X 881 574 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for ● 302 the people in the čiéxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone, [301] of course, wears his hapaxél. The uswāala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/997 cont./

628 know how the injured party is doing when fears are felt for his death,
626 and I have heard them express the horrible sensations which creep over them when the sense of blood-guiltiness is likely to be charged against them" /cited in English/. The attention of the people in general and of every individual group is earnestly directed toward preventing any murderous deed.

628 Whenever such an act occurs, the nearest relatives of the victim adopt a special facial painting. Despard (VP:VII, 9;1860) (419)
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> 419. Earlier Fitz-Roy (a):177 noted: "White feathers, or white down, on the fillet, is a sign of hostility, or of being prepared for war. Their white paint is added to the red when preparing for war; but the marks made are mere daubs, of the rudest, if of any design. Black is the mourning colour" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):198 and Hyades (q):375 write in a similar vein.

has already mentioned "white stripes dotted with black, in regular rows on the face" /cited in English/. Sometimes the whole body is uniformly smeared with black. All other persons who are close to the deceased also paint themselves in some way, but usually are satisfied with a few red, white, and black lines on their faces, in an arbitrary pattern. Around their foreheads they tie a narrow strip of skin with down, apawḗra. In doing this they are following a custom that is general when death occurs. The actual decoration signifying a murder consists of several vertical red lines on the face, spreading out in rays from the level of the eyes.

628 The persons concerned set about spreading the news of the murderous deed without delay and, along with reliable friends, form a fighting group, for the duty of blood vengeance hammers insistently on everyone's conscience. It applies to every friend and relative, as is shown by the specific /998/ term matája-magúwa, "a man against whom persons have a grudge and purpose to fight with and punish because he did not take up his and their murdered friend's cause as he ought" /cited in English/ (BD:306). When a considerable horde of avengers has banded together, the opponents,

/998 cont./

628 who anxiously watch every development, know it, and they, too, assemble in as great a number as possible. When both parties feel equal to each other, they prepare a regular attack. The able-bodied men and women get into their canoes, after they have provided themselves with ample supplies of stones and weapons (420).

420. I have nowhere found confirmed what Fitz-Roy (a):196 maintains: "When the Fuegians are inclined to attack an enemy with stones, they generally try to raise a breastwork of boughs or logs" /cited in English/. Another fact which he (a):186 mentions, however, is correct: "Hostilities are usually carried on with slings and stones rather than by close encounters" /cited in English/. Compare Bove (e):158 and Lothrop (b):164.

Persons who are old and feeble and children must remain behind in the camp. Usually it quite naturally happens that a capable yékamuš or a clever, reckless fellow commands and leads the whole group. As a rule, the persons who were associated with the dead person paint their whole bodies black, and the opposing group, red.

[302]

The canoes then push off from shore and arrange themselves in an exact row so that their keels form a straight line, each about two meters apart. The so-called commander is very much on the alert to make sure that no canoe gets out of line. If it does, he hurls a stone from his sling into the water in front of the canoe as a warning. Thus lined up, the two fighting groups approach each other. During the slow journey, they stir up their excitement and fighting lust by means of loud talk, agitated gestures, and insulting calls directed at the opponents. When they are only about 20 meters apart, both sides begin hurling stones from their slings. When the two groups are close enough, they begin a furious scuffle, for as soon as the canoes touch lengthwise, the men face to face beat each other with clubs and poles, spears and harpoons. Meanwhile the women, paddling and maneuvering on either side, keep the boats of the fighting men close together. Soon the men shift over to actual wrestling; they seize each other and tug hard, opposing one

/1013 cont./

576 This greeting is usually not answered. If someone wants to reply, he says: "ŭla yĕlla, you may go"; "leave me, or You may leave me" /cited in English/.

If a person meets another in friendly fashion, he throws out an "ɨ́pa sɨ́, how are you?" If the other has nothing special to report, he smilingly repeats this ɨ́pa sɨ́. Often, however, he comes out, rather unconsciously, with: "bā́f hā́ma, I'm not too well!" No one takes this seriously, however. Others who are not so close to each other walk past utterly mute and are content with a few mutual glances in which, however, they visibly express all kinds of feelings (434).

434. Spegazzini (a):167 who denies that our Yamana have any kind of social etiquette nevertheless confesses: "They exchange looks that are as eloquent as any speech..." /translated from Spanish/. Compare also the brief footnote 433.

514 From an earlier period Despard (b):716 describes a form of welcome which I cannot confirm from my own experience. "The mode of receiving strangers is strange. Comers are seen approaching -- wigwam people hear the news -- and consult as to who they may be, look about inside, and make as many spaces round the fire as there are guests to occupy them. Newcomers enter and occupy. Then the in-party turn their back to the fire and make a simultaneous talking. The newly-arrived make a general response. Then both parties assume the face-to-fire position and the ceremony of reception is concluded" /cited in English/.

514 An actual visit is quite generally referred to as tĕppi, not
● 302 just under the circumstances mentioned by BD:409. The visitor is not supposed to appear without any kind of body painting. At least a few white or red lines are drawn on the face, following the pattern customary for the uĭwɨ́ala in the čɨ́ɛxaus. Women and children are much more punctilious about this duty than are older men. For simple visits one or two horizontal lines, say from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes, suffice. A person who wishes to honor the other particularly not only paints his face more elaborately, but also very precisely. Besides their faces, older women in particular also decorate the entire upper part of their bodies with

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakuťruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve

/1060 cont./

782 539 With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes annūŏčia.

(13) Ašárȳ, hipā́i tumiā́ana,
Thanks, us we paint with egg yolk,

hākukísin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Watauinḗiwa, that [through thy grace] we may experience this new summer; as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:262 writes hākukísin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives tūmīaana, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they invite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the [302] first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hidā́buan directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

(14) Annu, hā́ia, kēmaustuximaxuiā́ina yā́rum,
Now then, for me troubled himself for favorable weather

hipikā́ja kēmaustuximā́gua Watauinḗiwa.
for us troubled himself Watauinḗiwa.

With these words, too, they thank the Supreme Being for the favorable weather which he provided for the canoes. An individual is speaking for himself personally and for his companions. -- Compare ūīaina in BD:66, as well as its use in Formula 5 (p. 983) and Formula 2 (p. 983).

/1115 cont./

765 302 Since our Fuegians are very dependent on everything visual, actual outward signs of mourning are no less important for them. /1116/ Body painting is of primary importance. It is absolutely demanded -- and no one would be guilty of negligence in this respect -- that anyone who learns of the death must paint himself in some way. A person chooses the particular pattern he wants, but he must paint himself. This is the way one shows his participation in the event and his sympathy with those chiefly affected, and it is universally regarded as of primary importance. Even before death has set in, everyone present reaches for a small piece of charcoal, crushes it between his hands, and rubs the powder over his whole body. As soon as the shrill outcry from the hut of the dying person announces that he has expired, everyone in the neighboring huts immediately rubs his face with charcoal dust in the same manner. If a canoe approaches the coast and its occupants wear the decoration of mourning, the people on shore do not await its arrival and the message, but paint themselves without delay and, thus prepared, hasten toward the new arrivals from whom they hear the news. Everyone who receives news of a death from whatever source must immediately paint himself in some way.

The nearest relatives of the deceased always apply only the dry charcoal powder all over their bodies. They rub it into their faces several times a day, usually at times when their sorrow wells up more acutely. In their excitement they are not particular about distributing the color evenly. Irregular stripes and large spots cover their faces and bodies, and they look frightfully ugly. This appeals to them. For many days they must paint themselves anew each morning, soon after they awaken and before they eat anything. They also immediately commence their song of mourning, which they accompany with loud weeping. This occupies the period roughly between four and six o'clock. Some people regularly begin their day in this manner for many months after the death of their relative, and this incessant manifestation of mourning has a shattering effect on all the people in the neighboring huts. During the day, of course, they also maintain the customary body painting for the deceased.

There are, however, some mourners who after about three weeks begin to take some pains with their facial painting and do it

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more carefully. Their favorite pattern is nonsymmetrical. They rub half the face with red pigment, the other half with black, the color having first been mixed with blubber. With the nails of the four fingers they scratch thin lines into this even layer from the eyelids across the cheeks to the edge of the jaw bone. These lines are supposed to indicate the paths of the many tears, as though they had washed the color away.

It is the general practice, then, for the nearest relatives of the deceased, as well as all the friends and neighbors, to rub dry charcoal dust all over the body /1117/ during the days immediately following death. A few women are satisfied to paint only their heads and the upper part of their bodies. Some of the men go further, however, and draw a white, arched line a hand's breadth wide from one shoulder to the other; others add to this pattern by drawing a similar vertical line from the throat to the navel. All this applies to the nearest relatives, who regularly follow the above style, whereas other people are free to choose any kind of pattern. On their faces they usually apply white or red dots, crosshatching, and lines in all kinds of arrangements on the black background (59). This type of body painting is used

59. This practice can be illustrated by a small group of mourners whom Aspinall (MM:XXII, 192;1885) observed on May 31, 1885. "When we arrived they were all painted, and, on asking the cause, we found that on the morning of our arrival a canoe had upset and two children were drowned. The nearest relatives had their faces quite black, the chief friends had streaks of red radiating from the eyes over the cheeks, while one woman, to tell the cause of death, had two lines of white drawn from ear to ear across the bridge of the nose, with white spots between of graduated sizes from the nose to the ears" /cited in English/.

when the death was caused by illness or old age; in itself it means a natural death (60).

60. This is probably the reason that other

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

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61. Bridges (MM:X, 80:1878) mentions that

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this type of accident is characterized by a special painting, but he does not describe it in detail: "By and by a company of Eastern arrived, they brought sad news: a canoe had been lost, with a large number of persons on board, among whom was the uncle and brother of this young fellow. He was very much troubled, yet mourned and grieved quietly. All those who came, and were in any way related to any of the lost party, had their faces painted in imitation of the waves of the sea, and all here, similarly circumstanced, did the same. This is their way of mourning and noted events" /cited in English/.

As "a sign of mourning for a drowned child," Aspinall:270 saw among the people of Wollamon "red lines on the faces of the men, as well as a dark cross-band with light dots on the faces of the women." This was merely common painting, not typical of this accident. Lovisato (b): 147 referred to specific kinds of painting for the various causes of death and probably based his statement on Bridges (i): 14, who clearly says: "There were regular systems of painting by which the nature of the death of the departed was indicated. Thus, for death by drowning the pattern was black bands with white edges, if by violence it was black or red with white spots, if natural a plain black" /cited in English/.

they also paint the upper half of the face a uniform black and add white cross-stripes close together or rows of dots. These horizontal lines are meant to indicate that the victim sank deeper and deeper which caused the rising water level to make

/1118 cont./
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successive marks above the mouth.

Now and then a murder is committed. The friends and relatives of the unfortunate one call attention to it by means of several vertical red lines on the face, which radiate out from the level of the eyes. They set out to find the culprit and gather helpers to expiate the crime. They want to make it visible from afar that this is their intention. The straight red lines indicate the paths marked by the flowing blood. If this occasions combat (p. 901), the relatives and friends uniformly paint their entire bodies black, while the opponents paint themselves red. Each of these two groups paints the same color on their weapons and clubs.

Our Yamana do not by any means strictly adhere to these particular decorations. They often give in to momentary whims. One afternoon at a common funeral rite I saw that all the people present had followed the request of an old man /1119/ and painted half the face a uniform black while the other half was covered with fine vertical red lines, the former indicating an ordinary death a few weeks before, the latter as a reminder of a murder long ago. Actually, it is incumbent on the nearest relatives to apply the painting that indicates the specific cause of death, but just as they may disregard this and choose another type, so also may the friends and people less close to them adopt the latter. I was also told of the rule that the nearest relatives of the deceased must rub their faces and the upper part of their bodies to the navel with a uniform layer of dry charcoal dust, and that the neighbors and friends cover their entire bodies with vertical black lines set close together, with rows of white dots running over them and beside them. Actually, however, this ancient pattern is found only occasionally nowadays, and people limit it to the face alone. In more recent times, however, almost everyone as a rule wraps the strip of skin with down feathers around his forehead. A corpse is never painted, as has already been mentioned; only the corpse of a yékamuš is thus distinguished, as will be explained later.

Whereas the paintings described above have been preserved to this day, the tonsure of mourning, which was a general custom in former times has been abolished. Long ago Bridges (h):209 mentioned that "they were obliged to cut the hair on the crown of their

/1119 cont./

765 heads as a sign of mourning" /translated from Spanish/. On the
302 day when a death occured, the women and children, not so often the men, had the hair on the top of their heads shaved with a mussel shell. Only a wide wreath of hair was left around the head. Thus, "for some time the hair on the crown of their head was shorn like a tonsure," as Hyades (g):29 and (p):330 expresses himself. The head was shaved only once; after that the hair was allowed to grown in freely. A man who wore this tonsure was called kĕ́pikun, a woman, kĕ́pikípa. BD:175 also gives this last word exactly as it is given here, but the first one somewhat differently. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) have followed this custom more faithfully. Since Europeans have permanently settled in those regions, our Indians do not want to be conspicuous with a large tonsure and content themselves with cutting the hair all around their heads at the level of the ear lobes. They have recently given up even this symbol of mourning. The Yamana repeatedly assured me that formerly everyone took pains with the proper large tonsure of mourning. In recent times they all tie the strip of skin with down-feathers, apawó́s, around their heads instead.

765 Finally, a person who has been particularly affected by a death inflicts superficial wounds upon himself as a special expression of his sorrow. He takes sharp splinters of a mussel shell or a piece of slate and scratches first his arms and legs and then his chest until blood flows. /1120/ Bridges (MM:III, 119,1869), along with Hyades (q):379, Lovisato (h):147, and Spencer:104, asserts: "It is a common practice for near kindred to wound and cut themselves" /cited in English/. Nowadays among our Fuegians it is usually only the mother who inflicts such wounds upon herself when her child dies. Among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 556) many more people do this.

The hours immediately following the death of a relative or friend, during which the corpse is burned or buried, are filled with the shrill crying and pitiful howling of those present. After their feelings have been somewhat assuaged, more moderate songs of mourning replace the outcries. Other observers have made only fleeting references to them, for example, Hyades (q):379: "When the Fuegians learn of the death of a relative or friend, they immediately show their sorrow with great vehemence through tears

/1119 cont./

765 me with their support?" If many people happen to be together, a tšiegweja turns into a yamalalemišiga as a matter of course. As has been said, a special request goes out from the relatives of a murdered person because they are obliged to exact blood revenge and must solicit helpers. The final impetus for a general funeral rite is given by a few old people when they say that the situation and the mood of the people are appropriate for a general ceremony. Whoever happens to be on the spot takes part; no one would be excluded even if he came from a distant region. Sometimes families who are in the vicinity are notified, and they hasten there without delay.

765 362 If the people have quickly reached a decision in this simple and non-obligatory manner, they immediately begin the preparations. Actually, these involve nothing more than body painting which must be richer and more beautiful than for the inconspicuous tšiegweja. Everyone chooses a pattern according to his own taste and draws the stripes and dashes, rows of dots and lines in different colors and in various patterns of distribution on face, torso, and arms. Usually they develop the basic forms familiar to them from the tšiegweja, subjecting them into richer and more elaborate combinations.

The desire for colorful variety and a rich diversity of forms cannot be curbed even in the painting for mourning. At each yamalalemišiga I saw patterns that ranged from very simple to complex; a few are reproduced in Figure 86. The man (a) displays only three vertical black lines. The woman (b) has her whole face uniformly smeared with red and has ten vertical black lines over it. The man (c) also has black lines on a red background. The woman (d) has wide black lines drawn upon the red background, the former being outlined by broken white lines. The man (e) also displays a red background; on each half of the face he has five vertical lines and one each line on the bridge of his nose as well as between the inner corners of the eyes. Finally the woman (f) has five thin red lines radiating out from the lower eyelid; the rest of the painting, that is, the entire lower part of the face, is black. Other /1130/ no less elaborate patterns are shown in Figure 86 on page 780. All the patterns, however, are derived from a few basic forms.

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/(13) cont./

Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the citizens exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 10 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon these persons when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

Fig. 10. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial painting. They also wind the tapaith around their foreheads. This decoration, also called tagaith, is a rather large triangular piece

/1315 cont./

781 Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and hurts himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are these children who have run away. Their kingoi prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away; instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Mafemikeno had run away with some other girls (p. 911). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

[783] RD:274 gives kundi as a bad omen for the hunt, "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

•787 Young Darwin (f):81, 317 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (q):255 refers to this and asserts: "The Fuegians throw into the fire /1311/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is extremely concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 712), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yékaumil might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off. I succeeded in doing this.

[784]

/1329 cont./ X 575 292 replaced, for in the heat of the hut fire they unavoidably dry out and shrink to such an extent that they can no longer be used. Consequently the leather masks are more suitable and durable. A few of these masks suffice for the varied program, since only the painting needs to be changed to portray the various spirits. These masks are carefully protected and usually lie in the inner section of the Great Hut where they are handy for each man who wants to use them. A brief comment should be inserted here. Because of the special significance of the masks, children are not permitted to play with objects that resemble a mask or suggest one (p. 580).

X 575 While the discussions and immediate preparations are going on in the Great Hut, the mental attitude and the outward behavior of the women in the camp undergo a very apparent change. They actually have a slightly uncanny feeling, as though they were threatened and alarmed; they run back and forth restlessly and excitedly, as though at their wit's end; they talk to one another, first in one hut and then in another. By and large the thought of the approaching Kina with its many spirit-appearances has a trying and oppressive effect on all the women; some of them scarcely dare leave their huts and appear outside. The frightened behavior of the women has an effect on the children who huddle together in the hut and anxiously watch their mothers. This state of affairs lasts until shortly before sundown.

The women and children who are quietly and expectantly waiting in their dwellings have no idea what the men are doing in the secret hut after the first smoke appeared. Not a sound, not a sign from the leader reaches the camp for long hours. It is this uncertainty that makes the women and children so extremely tense. Meanwhile, however, the men in the Great Hut are not idle. They are preparing for the first appearance of the spirits. In March, 1922, the men present began their painting about five [302] in the afternoon. Before that they had painted their completely naked bodies. /1330/ Now they undress except for a small covering. To begin with they paint themselves with white diagonal stripes a handbreadth wide on limbs and torso. Toward six o'clock the leader comes out and stands beside the Kina hut, demanding in a loud voice that the women of the camp come out of their

/1330 cont./

dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately midway between the camp and the Kina hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tánuwa spirit has arrived in the Kina hut with intention of enslaving, torturing, maltreating, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Masemikens places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the first spirit, known as Kínamjáma. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and using both hands he carries a staff at eye level; his body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Masemikens again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kalampáša has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hāj húfu, hāj húfu in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arms over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

/1331 cont./
repeated in the Kina hut. The leader of the festival again steps out and shouts over to the camp: "The women must again assemble and come closer, soon the son of Kalampáĭa will come down from above and present himself before the eyes of all!" All the inmates of the camp immediately follow this summons and again squat down in the spot they quitted just about thirty minutes before. Meanwhile Santiago is being prepared for the proposed spirit-appearance. He already has wide horizontal and vertical stripes all over his body. Now four white rings are painted on his arms and the spaces between filled with red. His legs are covered from top to bottom with white. The mask that is slipped over his head has several narrow horizontal red lines on a uniformly white background.

Again the men in the Great Hut utter their howling calls. The women and children anxiously await the event that has been announced. /1332/ Inside, meanwhile, Santiago has been practicing the dance peculiar to this spirit. Again Maĭemikens steps out beside the Kina hut; this time he keeps his face covered with a piece of dark material. He utters a strong hō̄ in a high-pitched voice several times in the direction of the group of attentive women. Then he turns about-face, with his back to the group, turns his head toward the hut entrance, stretches out his right arm, and makes a semicircle in the air with a vigorous jerk, at the same time hissing a loud and long drawn-out s sound. Santiago obeys this signal and comes dancing out, portraying the son of the Kalampáĭa spirit. With his legs far apart, he steps sidewise along the dance course, tripping lightly, extending one foot and drawing the other after it. He moves back and forth several times; Maĭemikens follows him with his glance and finally summons him back into the hut with the same arm movement. Here he is received with a loud, howling, long drawn-out hō̄ hō̄... by all the people present. This soon changes to a rapid la̱ la̱... and gradually dies away as a sustained, low gā̱ gā̱... The women interpret the complete quiet that now prevails in the Kina hut as a sign that the "spirits" have withdrawn. Hence they, too, leave their places and silently hasten back to their dwellings. The men, for their part, wash off the painting and get dressed. Now they can take a rest, knowing that they have struck terror in the hearts of the women and children.

/1332 cont./

X575 ●302 Half an hour passes in pleasant conversation. Meanwhile Santiago has again been violently pricking the inside of his nose; the blood falls in thick drops. He smears it all over his face and chest; the sight of him will call forth ample terror and pity. Since Santiago himself offers it, a few of the other men collect some of his blood and rub it on their faces, thus saving themselves minor pain and the loss of their own blood. The men marked in this way show themselves to their families to indicate that they have been mistreated by the violent Tā́nuwa spirit. They wear these marks of terror until they are worn off. The men repeat this same deception several times during the Kina festival (279). Naturally, the deplorable countenances of the

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279. The Selk'nam also have this strange way of deceiving their women, pretending that they have been mistreated by the so-called Kloketen spirits. Cf. Vol. I, 941.

men do not fail to have an effect on the women children.

X575 In former times the participants in the Kina festival were obliged to remain in the Great Hut almost constantly; they ate and slept there. This time, in March, 1922, they are concerned only with demonstrating the more important features of this performance. They omit what is superfluous because they do not wish to exert themselves unduly. As a matter of convenience they do not eat in the Great Hut, /1333/ but each one hastens to his own family and lets his wife wait on him. Only two younger men stay behind to keep watch over everything. Since the men were having a very jolly time together earlier, they all want to get back to the secret hut soon after the meal. Here they comfortably talk over the success they can boast of in their crafty deception and gather courage for further tricks to be played on the women. To finish off the day they want to give them one more particularly bad fright. Maĕmikens, the wily leader, points out to the men that a Kalampáĕa mā́ru would terrify the camp inmates to their very bones. Everybody agrees enthusiastically. A white line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes suffices as painting, for, after all, it is dark and they need not fear that a woman will look

/1350 cont./
exactly with that experienced by all the uɬwíala without exception in the ʏiɛ́xaus, although the teachings and exercises are much more extensive in the youth initiation (p. 717). Here they are offered the complete cycle of stories woven around the Yoɬlox family. They heard some of them earlier in the ʏiɛ́xaus (p. 767).

/1351/ The chosen candidates (p. 1214), without discrimination, are conducted to the Great Hut with the formality described above (p. 1233). Women and children are supposed to learn from direct observation which young man has been granted the privilege of participation. They are told that the spirits demanded this or that chap as uɬwíala. Not to comply with such a request would put all the men in great danger. The man who accompanies the candidate to the Great Hut as a rule continues to act as a sort of sponsor. As such he chooses his place beside his protégé, observes and instructs him constantly, and takes charge /Fig. 96 appears here/ of his food and sleep. The two are not as closely united as are candidate and sponsor in the ʏiɛ́xaus, for the daily program and everything that goes on in the Kina are by no means as strictly observed and carried out as in the ʏiɛ́xaus. No duties are attached to the office of sponsor beyond the duration of this celebration. Usually a relative willingly offers to put himself at the disposal of the uɬwíala, there is no need for a detailed discussion of the matter between the participants. The leader is satisfied when some man offers to be the sponsor in the case of each uɬwíala selected; no particular aptitude is required for this service.

Like the uɬwíala of the ʏiɛ́xaus, those of the kína are also externally marked by a painting which is restricted to the face. In olden times the face was evenly rubbed with white pigment, and a red stripe, the width of a finger, was painted all the way across the center of the forehead. Now, however, as has been the case for an indeterminable length of time, each candidate is given instead a forehead decoration resembling a diadem. It is made of a band of leather about 56 centimeters long and scarcely three centimeters wide, the ends of which taper slightly before they are knotted together (298). It is thickly smeared with white pigment

298. Each end of this leather band is split in

X 575
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/1351 cont./

the middle, and these little strips, which are about three centimeters long, are securely knotted together.

before it is loosely tied around the head (Fig. 96). The candidate is distinguished by it /1352/ as long as he crouches in his place. Now and then his sponsor paints a more complicated decoration on his face: thirteen fine red lines on a white background, which, beginning on the bridge of the nose or the lower eyelid, are evenly distributed and ndiate downward. /Fig. 97 appears here./ A horizontal red line aswide as a finger connects the two inner

Fig. 96. Forehead Decoration of the Candidates. Two-thirds natural size.

corners of the eyes by way of the bridge of the nose and continues on either side from the outer corner of the eye to the ear (299).

299. This same decoration, with the exception of a slight difference on the number of lines, is worn by a participant in the youth initiation, as is shown in Fig. 85, b (p. 790).

X 575
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Soon after the beginning of the ceremony the sponsor carves two little sticks for his protégé, about 20 centimeters long and about one and a half centimeters thick in the middle, with four edges, forming a long rectangle in cross section. One end is tapered more than the other. The tapered end points upward when the stick is held in the hand. During the instruction and the narration of the origin myth or the Yoŕlox stories, the candidate holds

/1360 cont./ spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Hístuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Maʃemikens, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Maʃemikens himself.

/1361 cont./

X575 course and soon disappears again. The leader follows him into the hut immediately, without any words or any kind of sign to the spectators. If this spirit or another one is supposed to appear again, the leader calls him out in the manner just described. A spirit never steps out of the Great Hut suddenly before the eyes of the women.

X575 758 /1362/ In exceptional cases a yĕkamuš will accompany some spirit along the dance course. Shortly before the end of the Kina celebration in 1922, Asikansis unexpectedly stepped into the Great Hut and announced that he had been requested in a dream to let Calderon portray the spirit of a particular fish. No one dared to contradict this old man who was already somewhat feeble mentally or to point out to him that the night was far advanced. So Calderon painted his whole body and the mask white, and over [302] this he drew several vertical red lines two fingers wide. Asikansis, who is a yĕkamuš, wore his feather diadem; his face and the upper part of his body were painted white, with a red horizontal line extending from below the nose to either ear lobe. The two men stood facing each other. Calderon, as is customary, supported his mask, while Asikansis stretched his two arms out sidewise at shoulder height. Then Asikansis indicated the rhythm with low sustained cries of hŏhŏng. First they danced inside the hut as though they were practicing; then they performed their short, leaps sideways along the dance course. They stepped out five times and moved back and forth, each time after a pause of a few minutes. Asikansis always turned his back to the camp and *unavoidably hid Calderon a little. After both had ended their* dance, Asikansis sat down by the fire and softly sang on for a long time, completely absorbed. Calderon washed off his painting.

X575 Just as the leader calls together the women and children at the beginning of the spirit appearances, so he also announces the end of the performance with a brief word. He says: "Now the last spirit has left this hut, not a single one is now sitting among the group of men. You, too, go back to your huts!" The men regularly announced the entrance of a spirit into the Kina hut with a warbling lalala..., which warned the women to be on their guard; now all is silent there, a sign that the spirits have all withdrawn.

/1367 cont./

X 575 sympathy. Then for several seconds there is deep silence in the Great Hut. One of the men rolls up a large, stiff piece of leather; another cleans a spot on the ground that has been stamped down. /1368/ The first man lifts his arm in a wide sweep and strikes down hard. One of the participants cries agá in a terribly loud voice, as though he had been mortally wounded by this blow, and lets his voice slowly fade away as though he were dying. After a pause there is a second blow; again a man cries out and lets his cry trail off in the same way. This goes on until all the men, including the candidates, "have been killed by the spirit." The women know how many men are assembled in the Great Hut and pay careful attention to the number of death cries. None of the men disguises his voice in order that the members of his family will recognize him. During the next few minutes nothing stirs in the Great Hut, "for they are all dead." At a signal from the leader two or three men commence a joyous, rapid, high-pitched lalala...which is supposed to announce the approach of their deliverer Lḗxakīpa. A few minutes later all the men utter a loud, high-pitched, jubilant xā. This is to announce that they have been restored to life by Lḗxakīpa. Now, however, they also want to prove to the women what tortures they have suffered. One or two of them will poke around in his nose with a small pointed stick until blood flows. He not only smears this on his own face, but willingly gives some to other men. With these "proofs" of mistreatment by Yamḗlakemana each appears before the members of his family, who look at him sympathetically and silently pity him. When after an hour or two the men have again assembled in their Kina hut, they are immensely pleased over their successful performance.

Similar to the spirit that has just been described is Kōyutulḗlkīpa, a murderess. She visits the Great Hut twice at the most during the Kina festival and "murders" the men just as Yamḗlakemana does. The leader announces her arrival in a loud voice. After this appearance, too, all the men show themselves to their families in the camp with blood on their faces.

X 575 776 ● 302 Besides Lḗxakīpa, who is superior to all the spirits, the Yamana also mention a few subordinate guardian spirits who are well disposed toward the assembled men and helpful to them in all

/1368 cont./
kinds of situations. In the final analysis each spirit is more or less kindly disposed toward all those who have assembled in the Kina hut. Kinamiáma chiefly sees to it that no woman approaches the Great Hut or does any kind of damage. He is presented soon after the beginning of the festival. He can be recognized by the many red and black transverse lines, the width of two fingers and separated by spaces equally wide, which are drawn on a white background and run from the tip of the mask to the knees. All the spirits have their thanks and feet painted uniformly white, no matter what name or characteristics they have.

Tulé̆a-yáka. This good-natured guardian spirit also appears at the very beginning of the festival. On the right and left side he wears two vertical stripes a handbreadth wide upon a white background. Apparently this identification is connected with tulé̆atčix, the name for the small Centrites niger.

/1369/ Tukáči-yáka is likewise a benign helper and protector of the men. The man who portrays him paints several vertical rows of red dots set close together on a white background all over his body.

Kínajagčllum. It is said of this spirit that he takes extraordinary pleasure in sitting with the men in the Kina hut. That is the only reason he comes down from heaven. The man who portrays him first rubs his body with red color; from his neck to his genitals there is a white stripe the width of three fingers, from which three transverse stripes originate. There are four white rings on either arm. SD:165 also briefly mentions kínajagčllum without giving any explanation.

Ulamáka, the performance of the flower spirit. This spirit is regarded as having an especially close connection with the Kina. He is portrayed with a red body painting upon which are drawn a few vertical white lines leading down from the shoulders. SD:88 says of Ulámina, "he was a man disguised by paint and a conical bark hat who acted the part of a lustful spirit in the presence of women whom he went to meet and speak to" /cited in English/.

Wo[illegible]áka, the performance of the sea spirit. He is shown with elaborate painting. On a white background many small red semicircles are drawn close together to represent fish scales. This spirit is shaped like a fish, is the "son" of a whale,

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/1369 cont./
and appears as such, usually accompanied by two men painted in the same way. The Yamana say that he is well disposed toward human beings. It is said that sometimes he emerges from the depths beside a canoe and shows himself to the occupants; his head and torso are as beautiful as those of a mature girl; in place of legs he has the hind parts of a large fish, and around his forehead there is a thick wreath of beech twigs. One can be sure of recognizing him by this sign. Once, adorned only with this wreath of twigs, he left the Great Hut and, in the company of two young men who were unpainted, he went over to the camp. His arrival had been announced to the women by loud cries. Because there was a shortage of red pigment, he was supposed to fetch new supplies. Sure enough, every woman placed a small bag of ĭmi outside her hut. The spirit passed along the huts, quietly and without saying a word, took each packet, gave it to his companions, and hastened back to the men's hut with the abundant presents (308).

308. This description reminds one of the performance of Hain in the Klokeen of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 926). He, too, visits the dwellings and gathers red pigment for the "spirits" in the Great Hut.

Mŏrŏrĭka is likewise a spirit who is kindly disposed toward the assemblage of men. On a white background he wears several vertical black dots the size of the palm of a hand which are distributed over his whole torso.

Yagárowa-yĭka, the performance of the spirit of the high seas. The performer's body is painted white and has only three evenly distributed vertical red stripes the width of a hand.

Hĭni-yĭka, the performance of the northern sky. This spirit, too, is a helper of the /1370/ men in the Kina hut. He supports them, above all, in singing and constantly gives them new strength. The performer paints his whole body, as well as the mask, uniformly white, adding seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger to the mask. SD:270 says: "hăniaka, a play enacted in the canoa drama accompanied with painting, singing, and acting in supposed imitation of the N. wind" /cited in English/.

X 575 776 ●302 /1370 cont./

Asepakāiaka, the performance of the southern sky. The painting for this is elaborate. The mask and the body are rubbed with white pigment. In addition the mask has seven black transverse lines as wide as a finger; the torso and arms have eight of these lines, and the legs, six. In each of the areas thus formed a red transverse line is added.

X 575 776 302 825 Hašuwā́pisa-yā́ka, the performance of the mighty blue whale (Balaenoptera intermedia). Powdered chalk mixed with blubber is rubbed on the body of the performer in vertical lines, the width of a finger, drawn close together and beginning at the peak of the mask. BD:269 writes "hāšūāpisa-iaka, a certain play in the ceena drama imitative of whales" /cited in English/.

Sauyā́nux-yā́ka, the performance of the short-beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus fitzroyi). The front part of the body and the center of the mask are covered with a vertical white stripe about 20 centimeters wide, on either side of which black color is applied.

Kíxinteka-yā́ka, the performance of the gray gerfalcon (Circus cinereus). The performer paints his body and his mask white, and upon this background he distributes irregular black dots.

Akimagī́ja-yā́ka, the performance of the falcon (Ibycter australis). The dancer paints his body white and applies a red line the width of three fingers from the peak of the mask across his chest to the genitals and another line around his body at the height of his navel.

Kilaxī́la-yā́ka, the performance of the buzzard (Buteo poliosomus). Dry īmi powder is first rubbed over the entire body, and a few black dots are applied over it with the tip of the index finger.

Lī́rux-yā́ka, the performance of the gray-headed goose (Cloephaga poliocephala). The body of the performer from the armpits down is completely white, having been rubbed with powdered chalk. Above the armpits, and including the mask, it is rubbed with īmi powder and is light red.

Kī́mga-yā́ka, the performance of the Magellan goose (Chloephaga picta). The entire body is painted red, and large white dots are painted on the chest (309).

309. The Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida

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/1370 cont./

/kelp goose/), which is related to the two species above, is not portrayed. The Yamana say that it was already present at the time of the general upheaval, as it is to this day.

Alakuš-yā́ka, the performance of the steamer duck (Tachyeres brachypterus). The entire body and the mask are painted with white pigment. The nose and mouth are painted on the mask with red pigment. A black line as wide as three fingers is painted in a shallow arc from one shoulder to the other across the chest. /1371/

Wḗmar^{i}kipa-yā́ka, the performance of the small gull (Larus glaucodes). The performer paints his body and the mask white and applies short, fine, horizontal red lines all over it.

Touwiliwa-yā́ka, the performance of the diving petrel (Puffinus griseus /sooty shearwater/). It suffices to paint the entire body uniformly black, an exact imitation of the natural coloring of this bird.

Wilaulé́ka, the performance of the brown gull-teaser wilaulla (Megalestris skua chilensis). To portray this spirit the men paint their bodies and masks white. They draw six evenly spaced rows of short red lines from the upper part to the ankles. The mask is painted differently. On a white background four red stripes two fingers wide are drawn from the peak of the mask to the lower edge, and white transverse lines the width of a thumb are put in each stripe at close intervals.

Gḗrāpu-yā́ka, the performance of the white albatross (Diomedea exulans, Fig. 88). For this performance mask and body are painted with powdered chalk mixed with water; the former, in the region of the nose, has a vertical red line as long as a finger. BD:246 writes "gḗrāpū čis, the initiatory rite of the ceema drama" /cited in English/. -- The gḗrāpu-lṓma-yā́ka is peculiar. The men and the candidates paint their faces all white. A thin little stick which is slightly springy stretches from each corner of the mouth to the upper eyelid, so that the face is horribly distorted. They all squat close together at the low entrance, as though to barricade it. The ulwā́la are in the center of the group. Each of them holds a bow and a quiver in his hand. These articles must be specially made, but are not carefully

/1371 cont./
worked because they are not meant for use in hunting. With his front teeth each man holds a yékuł, that is, an arrowhead or spear point; in his hands he holds an unfinished basket on which he is working. When the group is assembled in this manner, one of the men summons the women and children. They may come up to within a few steps and silently look over the group. Neither words nor looks are exchanged, the men steadfastly keeping their eyes on the ground. After a few minutes the women are sent back again. The Yamana of the south and west have the same performance, but with the following variation. The men and the candidates paint their faces white and draw a black line the width of a finger from the outer corner of each eye to the ears. They all have a yékuł between their teeth and in addition hold in their hands a drawn bow and an arrow which they aim at the women who are standing outside in front of the entrance. This pantomime also goes on in complete silence and lasts only a few minutes. No one was able to tell me its meaning.

Katéux-yéka, the performance of the sea dove (Daption capensis). The performer paints his body and mask completely white and then adds many black dots with his index finger. This is precisely the way this marine bird is marked.

/1372/ Tapeńla-yéka, the performance of the small diver (Podiceps calipareus). This bird, the size of a pigeon, has brownish-black feathers and a white tail. The person who portrays him as a spirit rubs a piece of dry charcoal all over his body, including his mask, and draws a white line, the width of a hand, from the navel to the genitals.

Yéley-yéka, the performance of the black cormorant (Phalacrocorax atriceps). The performer wears no mask. He rubs charcoal dust mixed with a little blubber all over his body. He paints his chest, the hairy part of his head, and his cheeks white and holds his arms as though he were supporting a mask. According to BD:274, haywu[1] means "the black shag" /cited in English/ and this performance. Compare Figure 58 on page 253.

Wiyeńim-yéka, the performance of the hooded cormorant (Phalacrocorax gaimardi). The person who portrays this spirit wears a mask that is painted white. He rubs his body with dry charcoal dust and draws a very wide white stripe from his neck to his genitals.

/1372 cont./

Uwülër-yáka, the performance of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater). A red line, the width of two fingers, runs from the peak of the mask down the center. The whole body is white, with a black arc the width of a hand running across the chest from one shoulder to the other. BD:117 also mentions this performance. Compare Figure 76 on page 385.

Sürïa-yáka, the performance of the spectacled penguin (Spheniscus magellanicus). The performer paints his chest and belly white, the rest of his body, black. There is a wide black arc above each of the eye-holes of the white mask. BD:160 gives sürïa-lama.

Hïjmus-yáka, the performance of the robalo (Eleginus maclovinus). A few vertical white lines from the neck over the chest and belly, as well as a few vertical black lines beginning at the armpits, suffice to portray this spirit. BD:261 also mentions haimul-yaka.

Sïna-yáka, the performance of the porcupine fish. On the uniformly white mask a red transverse line, the width of a finger, is painted at the level of the mouth. Many red semicircles are placed close together all over the body of the performer to represent fish scales. This design is very effective (310).

> 310. It is well known that, according to the legend, the child whose father was a sea lion and whose mother was the sister of the Yoalon brothers turned into this fish (p. 1140).

[illegible]-yáka, the performance of the herring (Clupea pertinax). The mask and the entire body are painted uniformly white. On either side of the body a black line as wide as a hand runs from the armpits to the ankles.

Imoka-yáka, the performance of the sea trout (Atherinichthys). The dancer draws many vertical white lines as wide as a finger and as long as a thumb irregularly all over his body and his mask.

Kalempáka-yáka, the performance of the fish Kalempáka. This fish has a broad head and its body tapers evenly from the head to the tail fin. The performer characterizes this spirit by means of small red semicircles over his entire body which he first painted white. His white mask /1373/ has a red transverse line, the width

/1373 cont./
of three fingers, in the region of the mouth. Now and then this spirit orders the men either to step out of the Great Hut in single file, or, in the so-called Kalampáia-máta, as individuals, to see how the women are conducting themselves in their dwellings. BD:178 also lists kílayéka-taka.

Jepúsi'-yéka, the performance of the little redfish. The performer must paint a great number of fine, vertical, finger-length red lines close together and on top of one another all over his body. The mask is white.

Hikufuxílla-yéka, the performance of the jellyfish (Medusa). This also requires fine, vertical red lines about three centimeters long all over the body and the mask, but not in as great a number as in the preceding performance.

Hóka-yéka, the performance of the small cuttlefish (octopus). The person who represents this spirit, sometimes also called Fáuka, rubs dry lint powder on his body and hangs a square piece of leather similarly colored loosely over his head in place of the painted mask.

Yéshili'-yéka, the performance of the calceolary (Calceolaria vahsiana). The dancer smears his whole body and the mask uniformly red. It is well known that Yéshilíkipa escaped when the men stormed the Kina hut. The painting just described is like the one that she wore at that time and which she still displays on her diminutive figure (p. 1347).

Kénsi'-yéka, the performance of the bluebottle fly. The person who presents this spirit to the women paints his body and mask black and over this irregularly distributes many white dots with his index finger. According to BD:168, kénsi'a also means wasp and bee.

In the east the so-called wéshku-yéka was performed. Several men step out of the Kina hut as a group without any kind of painting. Each one carries a stick that is pointed at the lower end and a meter long. At some distance from the Great Hut the men move close together, form a circle, and drive the stick into the ground several times. They poke around like this for a few minutes without looking up and without saying a word. Then they silently go back again. No one could tell me the meaning of this performance. BD:488 gives wéshku-yéka, "to dig, burrow" /cited in English/.

/1373 com./

X 575 535 The Hístuku performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóiu, hóiu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their [302] bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been [776 825] murdered by the women. Hístuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tépa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yáaslága he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

[771] 311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoštan scene in the Klokeren of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 897). BD:262 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

X 575 776 825 All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. BD mentions many additional ones. For example, BD:170, kilígwlaka, the performance of the sea

/1374 cont./

X575 gull kiwẽgu (Larus dominicanus); BD:413, tĩkalaiaka, the per-
776 formance of the loud tĩkalẽ (Larus belcheri /a gull/); BD:112,
825 uĩŋgiaiaka, the performance of the whale aiũgia (Pseudorca crassidens); finally, BD:262, haiyaiga, BD:277, iamtĩkaiaka, the performance of the whale, BD:278; laiakãĩjpa, and BD:247, ghauna, or "ũnĩwa's son, one of opening scenes and characters in the keena drama" /cited in English/. BD also mentions a few more performances. In any case, see the explanations of ãĩpi in BD:212.

X575 In conclusion the so-called kĩna-tĩkeywĩja, the death rite,
765 should be specifically mentioned. Now and then it happens that in the course of this men's festival one of the participants or one of their relatives dies. Then one evening the participants assembled in the Great Hut put on an actual tũkeywĩja for only themselves. The men adorn themselves with the body painting customary for this occasion (p. 1081), depending on the degree of their relationship to the deceased. This is not enough, however. An influential yĩkamuĩ appoints a man, preferably the leader, to paint himself in a special way. In March, 1922, Maĩomĩkem, who was then the leader of the Kina, volunteered to do this himself. The en-
•[312] tire body is painted white and over this are painted four black stripes the width of a hand, beginning in the center of each collar bone and in each armpit and extending to the knee. These stripes, but narrower, are continued on the white mask up to its point. The performer dances out of the Great Hut just like any one of the many other "spirits" and moves back and forth several times on the dance course. The people in the camp immediately recognize him /1375/ by his painting. On the evening of a tũkeywĩja the men remain very quiet and appear to be sad out of sincere sympathy. The Yamana have no proper name for the spirit portrayed in this manner. It would not be correct to call him the kãĩpis of the deceased person who is being mourned, the whole performance is meant to be reminiscent of his departure and of the sorrowful participation of the survivors.

X575 The Yamana emphatically assured me that there is no por-
776 trayal in the Kina of the spirits of those animals that were already
825 living here as actual animals at the time of the great upheaval.
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/1271 cont./
This applies to the raven vulture wēgrēlu, the hawk yerukalu, the garudavan bāsha, the common sea gull kiwdgu (212), and

212. BD:170, however, mentioned this spirit.

particularly the many small birds. The specific painting with which every spirit appears adds a certain variety to the course of the Kina festival, but after a time the monotonous dance movements become noticeably boring to the women and also somewhat to the men. The arbitrary decision of the leader and the general mood of the participants determine the number of spirits and the sequence of their appearance on each evening. In view of this, one Kina festival is sometimes very different from another, and this provides a change.

6. End of the Festival

Obviously it is the environment, especially the urgency of matters of subsistence, which forces the participants to terminate a Kina festival. Here, too, the decisive factor is that same play of forces that leads to the termination of a youth initiation (p. 891). The most important of these would be lack of food, flooding of the campsite, insufficient firewood, the illness of a number of persons, or a death.

Even if these unforeseen and yet decisive circumstances were not taken into account, at practically every Kina the attention of the dancers and spectators begin to lag after only a few days. The men must stimulate and renew the interest of all the participants in the affair. If all their efforts fail, boredom is clearly written on the faces of all these persons. From the start, the women do not welcome the Kina. For their part they certainly make no effort to prolong it. For a time, however, the men feel quite content in their closed group, especially if there are many of them and the individual members take an active part. Thus they are unaware of the threatening and unavoidable monotony of each passing day. The Tenzins are much too restless by nature to /1272/ bear surveying monotony for very long, and the many spirit appearances certainly do not offer enough

/1278 cont./

[458] variety to refresh them and arouse them to great enthusiasm. In the final analysis, of course, the deceptive performances of the masked men lack any urgent necessity. When their curiosity, which is sometimes extreme, and their fun in deceiving the women by supposed spirit appearances are satisfied, further performances do not hold enough enjoyment for them to counteract their slowly mounting boredom and the weariness caused by the same repetitions. In that case quite unimportant external reasons bring about the desire to terminate the Kina festival and there is not the slightest inner resistance on the part of any of the participants. I was assured that the men were usually content with two or three weeks, but they have stayed together a shorter or longer time according to whether they felt so disposed or were obliged to separate for some reason.

Each time, however, the leader discusses the matter with the older men, and if all more or less agree he chooses the next evening or the next evening for the so-called kiekpaiina, the formal closing scene. The younger men, of course, yield; the others are particularly pleased to be freed from their strenuous position. The purpose of this final ceremony is to drive away all malevolent spirits from the Kina hut and its vicinity. All the men paint only their faces with a simple decoration, a white transverse line as wide as a finger, which runs below the septum of the nose and extends to each ear lobe. To this is added either a red line along the entire bridge of the nose or a varying number of fine red lines between the lower eyelid and the above-mentioned white transverse line. Each man winds his apron around his forehead. Thus adorned, all the men form a closed circle around the hut fire. The leader or an influential elderly [459] holds a stick -- similar to the dance staff used in the Tahgan (p. 456) -- the upper third of which is painted white. He holds the stick vertically, like a baton, in his right hand with his arm outstretched. When he lifts it, all the men break into a wild hi hi...which they repeat for two or three minutes. Suddenly they cease and immediately add sharp, shrill ĭ sounds which are followed by croaking cries of ŭ ŭ...in quick succession. Meanwhile each man again and again stretches out both his arms, his open palms forward, in unmistakable warding-off motions. After

/1389 cont./

maintains that their huts "differ by having the upper part cone-shaped rather than spherical" /translated from Spanish/. See the general description of the dwellings on p. 9 .

is sometimes inconspicuously given precedence, and the men willingly follow his decisions. The whole neighborhood expects him to be far more willing to help and more unselfish than other persons.

Whenever the yékamuf is working toward some goal in connection with his actual calling, he puts on an ornament which he alone is permitted to wear. This outward token is intended to show that the guardian spirit associated with him has taken possession of him and he is now acting with this spirit and may not be disturbed in any way by anything around him. Naturally, everybody who sees that the yékamuf is busy at his calling behaves accordingly (353). As Despard (b):717 briefly states, he

353. What Bridges (t):227 has said in this connection is wholly misleading: "In order to give the appearance of age, they were in the habit of rubbing their heads with ruruspu" /translated from Spanish/, namely, red earth.

wears as a "distinguishing mark: white down on the head, and pipe-clay lines across his face" /cited in English/. The feather ornament, ayewípa, resembling a diadem, is characteristic. They use the finger-long, pale gray feathers on the underside of the body of the night heron chevu (Nycticorax /1390/ obscurus), arranged close together in three woven strands of thin tendons. The yékamuf ties this ornament around his head like a headband, with the feathers pointing downward. When he removes his ayewípa, he rolls it up and keeps it in a small leather pouch so that it will not be damaged. He prefers white pigment for painting his face and entire head. It is obviously an exaggeration when Bridges (r):201 reports that the medicine men "made their heads white with chalk every morning." This would differentiate them from all their countrymen, which is not their intention. Instead,

/1390 cont./

X756 302 it is the rule that they paint themselves only when they are working toward some goal of their calling. Hence they reach for their pigment even in the dead of night if they awaken after special dreams and give themselves up to serious meditation. Most often the yékamuš rubs his face and hair with dry powdered lime. In former times he also applied it to the upper part of his body, that is, before he covered it with European clothing. Sometimes he contents himself with drawing a finger-thick white stripe under his nose from one ear lobe to the other. It is rare that he draws this line in red. Sometimes, of course, he forgoes any kind of painting, but even then he can be recognized clearly enough by his apawéwa. Later on the painting of candidates in the medicine-man school will be described; this, too, shows clearly the preference of the yékamuš for white (324).

> 324. Earlier reports, for example, by Spegazzini (a):169, which mention another kind of outfit for the medicine man do not correspond to my experiences.

X756 824 It is difficult to explain how the Yamana imagine the physical constitution of their medicine men. The latter have -- as I learned -- a phantom body which, to the eyes of ordinary Yamana, looks like the body of one of their own people. The skin of the yékamuš, above all, is supposed to be indescribably tender and thin, while the entire periphery of the body is supposed to exceed that of any other human being by far. According to measurements given to me, the diameter of a medicine man exceeds even 100 meters. Nevertheless, he looks like an ordinary Yamana to the eyes of the people around him. In the final analysis, it seems to me that this so-called periphery is best explained as the zone of influence of the yékamuš, for it is said: "the yékamuš knows everything that is present and that goes on within this periphery as definitely as though it were inside his body." This explanation is confirmed by the following. The Yamana also say: "If a yékamuš wounds himself or if his body changes in any way, our eyes are deceived. We see all this in the way in which such things happen to our own body,

/1404 cont./

X756 Our Yamana, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their
264 fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content
785 themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the lõima house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uŭwáléxamuĭ are given three mussels at the most; all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end; he destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumárapu powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known émbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 709) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yékamuĭ. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him, the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yékamuĭ will be for his accomplishments. If a uŭwáléxamuĭ should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yeŕáčel tell the yékamuĭ of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this lõima hut!" /1405/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

X756 Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the
302 yékamuĭ and the uŭwáléxamuĭ. All of them are completely naked

/1405 cont./

X756 during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint
● 302 themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves. On some days the leader also reaches for ĺimi powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on this background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the hair; most of them smear a good deal of the sticky tumaŕu on their heads. Everyone ties the apawéna around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the yékamuś, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as hapaxéi (p. 719). Everyone renews this body painting every day, usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women yékamuś must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the íôima house without being painted.

X756 Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the
785 very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off
516 on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him; his upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as ĺalalakína, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, stiff and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position; in exceptional cases he may also sit for a

/1416 cont./

X 756 787 533 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the moment at which the yeſčel itself takes over the melody and carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yeſčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yẽkamuſ is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yẽkamuſ is aware of everything that the yeſčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yeſčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yẽkamuſ awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yẽkamuſ and his yeſčel or other spirit. No matter what the yẽkamuſ plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yeſčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The hẽ́ŋif of the yẽkamuſ gives way to the yeſčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yẽkamuſ who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yeſčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yẽkamuſ has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yeſčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X 756 ● 302 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apẽwẽ́ŋa which he ties around his forehead (p. 1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X 756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yẽkamuſ are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

/1461 cont./

517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fuegians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p. 399). /Fig. 107 appears here./

[156] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p. 525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fuegians body hair

302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p. 81); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them

832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures

/1463 cont./

whale," /cited in English/, according to BD:630, or wăalina for a man who makes a good canoe. People who make a small basket or an ornament with particular care are known far and wide, and the accurate construction of such things is talked about by others because it gives them satisfaction and true enjoyment. One often hears expressions like the following: "What a pretty thing! -- How good-looking that is! -- The workmanship is very accurate and shapely!..." Everyone praises the effort made by an artisan. When they see a perfect specimen, old people encourage the young ones to imitate it. Any kind of praise is gratifying to the Tamana, and he makes an effort to obtain it. Beyond that, however, he also finds particular pleasure in the qualities of the beautiful object. A European, if he wants to be fair in his judgment, must take into consideration the difficulties that hamper the Tamana in the making and fashioning of his implements. For example, he does not have the use of metal tools and measuring instruments, but is dependent solely on his hardened, not very limber fingers and upon the measurements of his eye. For this reason, obviously, the various rows in a little basket (Fig. 101) or an ornament and the lines in a painting are never absolutely perfect. The indolence and the carelessness of persons who do not want to take pains and trouble are, of course, also reasons for many an inadequate piece of work.

The Tamana enhance the beauty of certain objects and their own bodies by means of painting. They use the well-known materials (p. 90) for the three colors that are the only ones applied: ūlā = red, scarlet; yāgu = light, luminous, white; finally, kūnūti = black. The pigments are either rubbed to a dry powder or first mixed with water or blubber in a large Mytilus shell (Fig. 100) to form a thick paste and then applied with the finger or with a painting stick (pp. 95 , 712 , 790). Designations for other tones of color are not altogether lacking, but are seldom used. For instance, one says kukima, "gray," only for human hair and for fur, whereas the word yawaiyu is used for the gray, faded, and pale color of any other object. Light red or a reddish yellow is designated by yāyāti. There is no particular significance attached to any of these colors (p. 94) (364), although one or

364. Martius: 188 and Spegazzini (a):170

/1463 cont./

531 have maintained the contrary,
302 without justification.

822 another is preferred on certain occasions, for example, in the case of /1464/ mourning (p.1064). Scarlet gives the Yamana intense pleasure (365); the color of the máku blossom serves as a

365. This has been confirmed a number of times. Hyades (b):1345 and (d):306 says: "The favorite color is red; the other colors are often confused" /translated from French/. I also agree with the last part of his statement. The designations that he (c):205 lists for all kinds of colors are worthless.

standard of comparison for them (p.494). The Yamana use the
531 well-known pigments to paint their faces or their entire bodies
302 on various occasions. The gay and rich variety of their designs very clearly expresses their by no means limited sense of beauty. This is even more definitely shown in their ornaments and in the patterns of color with which they cover various objects, such as the Kina masks and the ornamental staffs used in the čiẍaus hut (Plates 2, 3, 4). /Fig. 102 appears here./ The Yamana have a considerable number of special designations for the various types of painting. The word wíŋsteka means "to paint horizontal lines upon the face with ímí as a mark of friendship" /cited in English/, according to BD:610; the word ẍasina means "to paint the face with up and down bands or lines of either red or black" /cited in English/. The painting is sometimes supplemented with a feather decoration. I observed neither a special gift nor an inclination to
532 draw among the Yamana (366); I never saw children scratch simple

366. Differing on this point, Phillips (a):1011 reported: "It was strange that the Fuegians showed a great inclination to draw. Without being told, they collected strips of paper and drew caricatures on them with charcoal, which were supposed to represent their comrades. They were then given pencils, and they eagerly

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiexaxe (pp. 718, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1045) as hapayel, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwarwexeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawexa is only worn by the yekamuč, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1507).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106). and Hyades (b):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (b):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiexaxe (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the 302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiexaxe.

530 Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverb,
533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

> 368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay: it is made

A469 cont./

533 177 underlying the melody is a clearly recognizable Halakwulup word, not otherwise current among the Yamana. The word arîwa, as well as acagwîrafka -- each of which is repeated to a separate melody -- are designated as genuine Halakwulup words. The song based on the latter word is called the "pasfuna of the drunken ones": it is sung with great merriment and accompanied by clumsy swaying of the entire upper part of the body. In Halakwulup the word ôk'norwar means "water, drinking water, alcoholic beverage" (Gusinde [6]:1012). In another pasfuna the expression guanîho sefthôr is repeated. The word guanîho possibly /1470/ found its way into Yamana only in recent times through this pasfuna, for otherwise they use only amôro. This pasfuna, like the previous one, clearly shows that in the not too distant past the Halakwulup have transmitted one or another of their songs to our Yamana. Gertie and other informants assured me that in their youth, on trips through the west, they learned a song or two which was unknown in the central Yamana region. Just as today a jolly group will occasionally burst into a pasfuna, so, in earlier times, this was done on the rare occasion when a European ship passed by as a sign of joy and surprise. The Yamana mother is certainly not fond of singing, but it is true that one of them will occasionally amuse her baby with a pasfuna.

533 302 It is customary among the Yamana to pass around some pigment while singing is going on. Everyone present takes a little of it and paints his face, a sign that he is taking part in the singing. A single woman will sometimes sing the so-called akînis song in jolly company. In the middle of it she will stretch both arms in front of her with the palms of the hands turned upward. Suddenly a little piece of charcoal will be lying on each hand, and with it the singer draws lines on the face of everyone present. No one could tell me the meaning of all this (369).

126 369. On my last two trips through Tierra del Fuego I made phonograph recordings for each of the three tribes living there. E. M. von Hornbostel has arranged this material, but his comparative study, which I received in manuscript, can only appear in the third

1: Gumbo--1450 E-S (1918-1934) 1937 SHS Tahgan SHS

142
•362
291

Yamana Man

Yamana Woman

Yamana Children

Children at Play

133

Beach of Beagle Channel

I. Gueinde--1432 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 5086 Yahgan SH6

SH
396

Watchmen in Action

Tooth Initiation Hut, Interior

Tooth Initiation Hut, Exterior

362
N1

Canoe Painting

Watchmen

Watchman's Amistant

1.Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SHG Yahgan SHG

881
302
142

Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Yékamuš Aspirant

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Čiexaus Painting

Gusinde with his Spouses

Yékamuš

Kina Hut

Kalempan Geme

Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit Kina Spirit

Uhuwala at the Foot of Mount Olivia

1: Contents---1455 E-S (1918-1924) 1927 SOE Telegram 8705

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-related

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

I: Gwinde--1456 B-5 (1910-1934) 1927 Still Prisoners Still

62
.B2
.165
301

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

(37)

Automatic Rewinder

Mourning Feeding

Man Feeding Themselves

Mourning Feeding

(33)

Northeast of Beagle Channel

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S3% Yahgan S3%

PLATE 12.—Fuegian mocassin. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The Fuegian occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of hide. The clothing of the Fuegian seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming [291] rule played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For [297] combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Orton and Brush, 1910, p. 136) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 433). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practised as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 962), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, [298] black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;

white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (*Fissurella* widowae), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; lone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Further dickeys and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the Yahgan was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1928 a, pp. 253–54).

The Yahgan canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.3 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 19 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 30 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Fuchsfagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of worsted saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with reed. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and lashed in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without cross-piece or other grip. The Yahgan canoe lacked mast; the cylindrical tackles (pl. 35, *c*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a canoe, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5386 Yahgan 5366

291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a distinctive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub 301 their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is also worn around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this confinement to one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort enumerated on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jacques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have espoused the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or cat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

699 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Wulaia in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intended with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and then aroused survival resentment. Native women often have

3: Lothrop E-9 (1924-1925) 1928
5265 Yahgan 5265

FIG. 45.—Yahgan moccasin. Length, 11 in. (34.2 cm.)

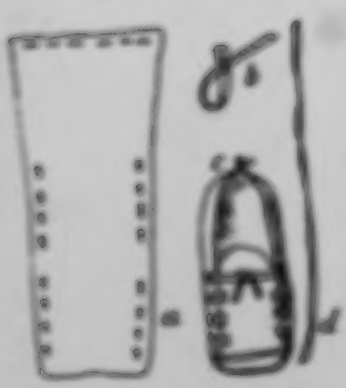

FIG. 46.—Pattern of Yahgan moccasin.

FIG. 47.—Yahgan leggings. Height, 19 in. (48.2 cm.)

3. LEGGINGS.—The eastern Yahgan, who were much more concerned with the guanaco than other members of their tribe, sometimes wore guanaco-skin leggings (*pelow*), such as fig. 47, for winter hunting. This garment was also sometimes used by the Ona, from whom the Yahgan probably borrowed it.

ORNAMENTATION

The Yahgan used no set form of hair-dressing, but allowed their locks to fall in a confused mass, except over the forehead where the hair was cut to form a bang. Facial and body hair they pulled out with a pair of mussel-shells.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

302 ●

The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days. The materials used are mentioned below. While paint was often applied with the finger, an elaboration over the Ona practice is seen in the use of a small spatula (*ishkhikowulus*). One of these is illustrated in fig. 69, *d*. The Yahgan did not tatton.

Feather diadems and goose-down forehead caps were worn at times, but their purpose was more ceremonial than utilitarian or decorative, and will be discussed below.

Wristlets and anklets were worn, but not so generally as among the Ona. The common type (*mo'lo-wa-ahr*) is not braided of grass or sinew in Ona fashion, but consists of a narrow band of guanaco-hide painted white (fig. 48). This was attached in place with small sinew laces.

Fig. 48.—Yahgan guanaco-hide wristlet. (14/2359)

Of necklaces the Yahgan made two kinds. The simpler type is constructed with cylindrical sections cut from the leg-bones of gulls or of ducks and strung on braided sinew. A more elaborate and attractive necklace (*opirr-shlo*) they made from small shells (Latin, *Photinula violacea*; Yahgan, *hoish wadilla*) found in the kelp (*hoish*) which fringes the coast (fig. 49). When polished by use, beautiful opalescent tints appear in these shells. The Yahgan strung them by punching

Fig. 49.—Yahgan shell necklace. Total circumference, 96 in. (14/2361)

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

412

lákel in Ona,—but there is no means of determining which tribe was the inventor.

3. HAMMER AND GREASE STONE.—On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up. They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones to allow the grease to solidify on the cool surface, whence it could be scraped up and eaten.

4. BROOM.—The Yahgan housewife today occasionally sweeps out her domicile, employing for that purpose the wing of some large bird such as a goose. This custom probably is not aboriginal, but is rather the result of missionary contact.

5. COMB.—The Yahgan sometimes comb their hair, and for this they make rude combs (*ushtánim*) of whalebone or employ the jaw of a porpoise. Combs of both types are illustrated in fig. 54, *a*, *b*.

[302]

6. SPATULA.—Another article for beautifying the person, found in the well-ordered Yahgan house, is a small spatula (*telákihamána*) used for painting the face and body. One of these appears in fig. 69, *d*.

FIG. 55.—Yahgan bark bucket. Height, 12½ in. (14/2267)

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7. BUCKET.—Under the Ona manner of existence a bark bucket (fig. 55) would have been of little service, for it would soon be broken under the exigencies of their system of transport; but the Yahgan found the bucket (*atakála*) an extremely valuable object, and used it to bail their canoes and to store water in their camps. Like the canoe itself the bucket was made from the bark of the evergreen beech, but while the canoe was man's work, the bucket was woman's work. Hence the bark for the bucket was removed from the tree with the woman's barking tool (*téshupu*), which is a chisel-like device made from the leg-bone of the guanaco (fig. 68). The inner fat lining of the bark was then scraped off, and a rec-

[412]

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it.

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kalápasko* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-lion. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.

a *b*

FIG. 93.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2362)

RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices.

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kushpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire,

I: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehueiche
Yahgan SHG

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881
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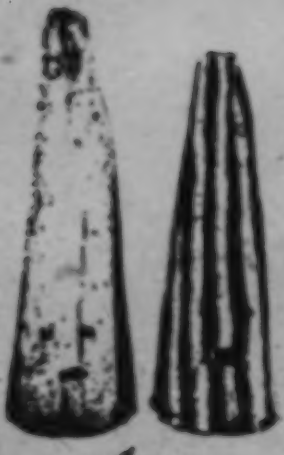

[p. 160 A]

304

104 MUTILATION--scarification and tattooing; cranial deformations; tooth filing and removal; piercing of ears, nose, and lips; genital mutilation (e.g., castration, circumcision, clitoridectomy); age, sex, and status differences; special techniques and apparatus; associated beliefs; etc. See also:

Bloodletting 180
Mortification of wounds 185
Mayhem 886
Mutilation of captives 197
Self-torture 198
Suicide 899
Infanticide 900, 901

/437 cont./

301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 98). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (1):38, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less resemble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 228). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

[171]

[349]

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence
177 it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth mentioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

[35]

/Ref. cont./

Finally we must mention here the only form of tattooing which was formerly customary among these Fuegians, but of which I could not find a trace on any of the Yamana living today. The reports which I received on this subject may be regarded as reliable (281). Soon after the beginning of the long ceremony, after

281. Several men, as well as Nelly Lawrence, spoke of this custom. The above data were given me by old Pedro, together with Whaits. The latter is the oldest surviving Yamana, and although I examined him very carefully, I could not find the faintest trace of tattooing on him. He told me: "When I was a candidate in the Great Hut my countrymen gave up these marks, for they did not wish to appear before the missionaries with them!" I suspect that they wanted to avoid divulging their secret initiation with the tattooing which was done at that time.

the candidates have become somewhat accustomed to the new living habits, all the inmates of the Great Hut go down to the flat beach the first thing in the morning if the weather is good. Only one of the guards remains behind. They choose a sheltered inlet with a shallow sea floor. The men, who are completely naked, and the women form separate groups. In their midst they have the candidates, the men taking the boys and the women, the girls. The men who arrive first step into the water and stand close together. The women arrange themselves in such a way that they form a more or less closed circle around the men. Then they all jump and leap about, play with one another, splash each other, perform all kinds of movements with their bodies, duck the candidates and drag them along under water. They disport themselves in every conceivable way with the members of their own sex, the outer circle of women never mingling with the group of men. After a time they come out of the water in this formation, and it is not until then that the circle of women breaks up, opening an exit

X881 /862 cont./
for the men (282). The winefkʷa calls a warning over to the

> 282. I cannot avoid the impression that this play is possibly an imitation, in weakened form, of the so-called phallus dance which the Selk'nam perform in front of the women at the beginning of the men's ceremony (Vol. I, 1003).

camp that old and /863/ young should hide in the huts and not let their glances stray, for no one may watch the return of these two groups who then hasten back to the Great Hut.

X881 304 Here the tattooing of the uʍwʃala of both sexes begins immediately. Expert men and women smear a thick, wide band of ímí across the candidates' chests and both upper arms to the back, so that only an area as wide as a hand over the spinal column remains bare. In the middle of the body this ring of color dips slightly. Within the band small vertical lines five to eight millimeters long and close together are scratched into the skin with a sharp mussel shell. They are careful to make the small lines very accurately and as even as possible. Soon after a few short incisions have been made, red pigment is smeared into them on the skin. It takes several hours to make this decoration, but it is not painful. After a short time the very shallow cuts are healed, but the pigment shines through the skin as a light blue line.

The uʍwʃala now wears on his body this visible sign of his first bath. Usually on that same evening, but at least within the next few days, all the adults of the camp are invited to the Great Hut and shown this marking on the candidates. The adults admire it and are pleased with it.

Within a few days all the occupants of the hut go down to the water to bathe a second and a third time, just as before. Afterwards a second and third row of small lines are tattooed on each candidate, directly underneath the first lines. This is his sign of having satisfied the demands of the čiéxaus requirements; it is also a sign of his maturity. Asked about the meaning of the tattooing, the Indians themselves give no further information than to say: "It looks beautiful!" At any rate, it is proof for

/863 cont./
them that a person has dutifully sat through his term as uŭwĕ́ala in the youth initiation.

They have not entirely forgotten this earlier custom, but have provided a neat substitute in the form of special body painting, which, however, only adult participants use. They paint the entire upper part of the body red and over this draw a white band the width of three fingers, which starts on either side of the spinal column and extends over the uppermost part of the arm and horizontally across the chest. I was definitely assured that this body painting is applied instead of the former tattooing. One day or another a man will still paint himself in this fashion.

The external measures to which each candidate of the Yĕ́kaus hut is subjected are really designed to batter his whole body thoroughly. All candidates show great fatigue even after the first three days. This is consciously sought; it is meant to make each uŭwĕ́ala amenable and to prepare him for the further aims of the Yĕ́kaus.

/864/ β. Instruction

The participants never lose sight of the fact that this event is supposed to be a period of serious training for their young people. Accordingly, some hours every day are devoted to teaching and instruction. Unfortunately, at present even this essential part of the entire Yĕ́kaus is not taken as seriously as it was formerly. The old people feel that the youth of today have for some time been alienated from the old tribal traditions and have adjusted to European standards of living. Hence the adults do not spend nearly as much time and effort on the actual instruction as they did formerly.

During my first initiation, however, we were required to congregate regularly each evening with our venerable instructor, for at that time Alfredo, the leader, was particular about keeping strict order. During my second initiation old Whaits had all the uŭwĕ́ala sitting at his feet on one occasion only, and at that time he could give us only a very small part of the wealth of earlier exhortations. Many conscientious Yamana regret this decline most deeply, but within themselves, faithfully shielded by a reliable memory, they carry everything that was once offered them in the

/1100 cont./

775 the aíjis through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamus who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the kéipif of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he thrashes about excitedly. That is his kéipif which is leaving him. After that the kéipif stays in that place on the water. Sometimes one hears his call. It sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the kéipif of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Hagčélla spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

775 756 763

37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 748.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The kéipif of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Hagčélla. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a kéipif appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

• [309]

775

38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

/1687 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the *Tahgan* (pp. 707, 708) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1043) as *tapagé*, a larger triangular piece of skin, or *kwayukgwa*, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The *apawkgwa* is only worn by the *ydkamuf*, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Tamana do not practice any kind of ceremonial body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (h):340 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Pino-Saz (p):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Rove (r):117 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (y):320, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Tamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the *Tahgan* (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the 302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the *Tahgan*.

530 Our Tamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,
533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich song; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (308). The Tamana like to sing:

308. Bridges (s):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay. It is made

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FIGURE 12.—*Yahgan utensils.* Leiden Museum, 1926, fig. 46.)

291 probably borrowed them. The *Yahgan* occasionally used a rude fingerless working glove of kids. The clothing of the *Yahgan* seems to us utterly inadequate, given the climatic conditions—temperatures commonly around and well below freezing point in winter, high winds, frequent snow, hail, sleet, and cold rain—but in view of the seeming role played in their decline by introduced European clothing and their relative good health prior thereto, perhaps their clothing was reasonably well adapted to the environment.

302 **Hairdressing and depilation.**—The hair was worn loose, not in braids, and was often banged. Sometimes a sort of tonsure was worn. A sharp-edged mussel shell was used to cut the hair. For combing the hair, more commonly the jawbone of a porpoise or otter, or a toothed comb made of whalebone, was used; sometimes, a brush comb made of a bundle of roots (Orbe and Brsch, 1910, p. 128) or of quills (Gusinde, 1937, p. 488). Depilation, with two mussel shells as tweezers, of all face and body hair was practically universal, for both sexes.

304 **Scarification.**—Scarification was practiced as a mourning observance and tattooing as an initiation rite (Gusinde, 1937, p. 963), but neither for ordinary decorative purposes. There was no head deformation, no ear, lip, or septum piercing, no body mutilation of any other kind.

302 **Painting.**—Smearing the head and body with grease or oil was as much protective as decorative. Face and body painting was common, sometimes with use of a small spatula. Only three colors—red, black, and white—were used. Red was derived from burnt earth, black from charcoal, and white from clay. Red symbolized peace;